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PERCEPTIONS OF ACCOUNTABILITY AMONGST EDUCATORS IN ETHIOPIA

MEGERSSA YADETA

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Education in the Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Graduate School of Education.

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ABSTRACT

The research for this dissertation has been undertaken in the belief that the processes and procedures of accountability can improve educational quality in a developing country such as Ethiopia and that in formulating these policies and procedures Government should take into account the views of those who will ultimately implement them.

The main purpose of the study was to undertake an initial exploration of the perceptions of accountability held by a small sample of educationists: teachers, principals and administrators. Data were obtained by means of interview and, to a lesser degree, from analysis of official documents. The interview schedule included questions designed to elicit respondents' own construct of accountability as well as pre-structured questions and, in the case of administrators, had a 'focused interview' component.

This is essentially a qualitative study and the data are largely presented in the form of direct quotation from the recorded interviews. However, the data are also presented in a simple quantitative form in order to give an accessible overview.

The data are discussed according to five themes. These are: 1. Accountability and responsibility. 2. Accountability and expectations of the teacher's role. 3. Accountability and the national evaluation scheme. 4. Accountability, inspection and supervision. 5. Accountability, centralisation and decentralisation.

Amongst the major findings are: 1. Respondents had little concept of accountability as used in the West but a strong grasp of the wider concept of responsibility. 2. Respondents recognised the appropriateness of accountability to Government but preferred responsibility 'for' such stakeholders as students, parents and the community rather than formal accountability 'to' them. 3. On the whole, respondents had surprisingly little knowledge of the new National Evaluation Scheme. Those who were aware of it did not see it as a formal accountability procedure - revealing an uncertainty about the relationship between 'accountability and 'evaluation'. Those who had been directly involved in the scheme found it difficult to implement. 4. Likewise, respondents tended not to see the relationship between 'accountability' and 'inspection'. Few teachers had encountered inspectors at a professional level and there was, in any case, a perceived ambiguity in the role of the inspectorate, some seeing it largely as having the function of disseminating national policy to schools. 5. The State control model of accountability was seen by the administrators as dominant and whilst they recognised, and in some cases approved of, alternatives e.g. market, professional models, they did not see these as being viable in the near future.

The dissertation ends by identifying the key issues in accountability which Ethiopia must face and by making some very tentative recommendations.

DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original except where indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the thesis has been submitted for any other degree.

Any views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University of Bristol.

The thesis has not been presented to any other university for examination in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Signature:.....,

Date:3-6-98.....

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my late father Obbo YADETA GONDIE whose farsightedness and intuitive understanding of the value of education enabled him to send me to school, though he himself was illiterate, without succumbing to the temptation of using me to look after herds of cattle which was the main occupation of the boys of my generation.

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Abbreviations

Ed.D	Doctor of Education
EECMY	Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus
EPRDF	Ethiopian people's Revolutionary Democratic Front
ETP	Education and Training Policy
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSoE	Graduate School of Education
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate
LEA	Local Education Authority
MoE	Ministry of Education
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OFSTED	Office for Standard for Education
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United States of America

Note

1. Abbreviations for coding of responses are given on pages 52-53
2. Abbreviations for coding of the respondents are given on pages 56-57

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Chapter One: Contextual Background, Aims and Rationale for the Study

Introduction

"Contexts are important as a means of situating action, and of grasping its wider social and historical import" Dey (1993:32).

In order to give the research a contextual background, this chapter will first deal with the geographic location of Ethiopia, its economic, political and educational characteristics. The problem addressed and the rationale for the study including research aims and research questions will then be considered. Before concluding the chapter, a brief mention of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY), a non-governmental organization from which some of the samples in this study were drawn, will be made.

ETHIOPIA

Geographic location and demography

Ethiopia is a country in the Horn of Africa, in the North-eastern part of the continent with a total population of approximately 58 million, the second highest population in Africa only exceeded by Nigeria. It is situated between 3-18 degrees north (latitude) and 33-48 degrees east (longitude) Briggs (1995:1) and Anbesu Biazen (1994:66). Addis Ababa, the capital city, lies at the heart of the country in the central highlands at an altitude of 2,300 metres, which explains its temperate climate despite its location within the tropics. The relief of the country is largely a high plateau with an elevation

ranging from 100 metres below sea level in the Dallol Depression to mountain peaks of over 4000 metres above sea level (Last, 1994:433). It comprises a central highland mass surrounded by lowlands. Ethiopia is bounded in the north-east by Eritrea and Djibouti, on the east and southeast by Somalia, on the south by Kenya and on the west by the Sudan. Eritrea was part of Ethiopia until it declared its independence in May 1993. Ethiopia covers an area of about 1.2 million square kilometres, (Anbesu Biazen, 1994:66), making it the tenth-largest country in Africa by area. Ethiopia covers approximately twice the area of Kenya or the state of Texas and about five times the area of the United Kingdom or New Zealand, Briggs (1995:1)

The Economic Context

Agriculture is the dominant sector of the economy providing employment for 86% of the population, according to Mitiku Tucho (1997:5), citing the World Bank (1993) and James Pickett (1997:439). Agriculture also provides around 50% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Coffee is the main export, generating more than 60% of the total export revenue. Oilseed, hides and skins, pulses, cotton, fruits and vegetables are other agricultural exports that bring in revenue to the country. The major food crops include 'teff' (a cereal grown and consumed only in Ethiopia), maize, barley, sorghum, wheat, pulses, oilseeds, sugar cane, fruits and vegetables (Ahemed Ali and Tewabech Eshete 1990:i). Ethiopia is among the least developed countries with a per capita income of US $100. According to James Pickett (1997:439), "World Bank rating of 133 economies world-wide, only Mozambique has a lower income per head than Ethiopia." Like any other developing country, Ethiopia is struggling with a large degree of unemployment, especially among its educated youth. This is contrary to the

situation that had existed in the late 1950s and 60s as at that time the unemployment of graduates of the school system was not a central problem as nearly all of those with elementary education and beyond could readily find employment (Kiros, 1990:31). Even during the Marxist dictatorship (1974-1991) the problem of unemployment was non-existent for graduates of higher institutions of learning as graduates were placed by the government. Military related industries and the army itself absorbed many young people thus minimizing the problem of unemployment. But with the dissolving of one of the largest standing armies south of the Sahara, replacing it with a much smaller one, coupled with the adoption of a market economy which ended Governments' placement of graduates of instituitions of higher learning and thus ushering in stiff competition among them for limited available places, the unemployment problem has been exacerbated. As the economic sector is not developing at the same rate at which the educational institutions are producing young educated people, there is a large surplus of educated young people unable to be absorbed by the modern economy. On top of this, the education the schools provide is not suited to the industrial needs of the country as schools concentrate on academic work at the expense of practical skills.

The Political Context

Modern Ethiopia was, with its present boundaries, created at the end of the 19th century through the efforts of Emperor Menelik II who was credited for uniting Ethiopia, bringing to its realization the dreams of Emperor Tewodros whose rule (1855-68), in words of Teshome G. Wagaw (1979:4), "marked the emergence of modern Ethiopia." One of the first acts of Tewodros II was to eliminate the powers of the local chiefs and to concentrate it in his own hands, reaffirming the authority of the

crown. However, his high hopes were shattered by the power of regional chiefs and the national unity he very much sought did not survive to the end of his reign. Emperor Yohannes IV (1871-89) attempted to impose national unity through religious conformity without much success. Menelik II (1889-1913) picked up and pursued the centralization of Emperor Tewodros II. Menelik II had set himself tasks that included the centralization of the government and in 1908 he created nine ministries to take charge of internal and external affairs. Thus, it was during the reign of Menelik II that the present Ethiopia with its present boundaries was created. Emperor Haile Sellassie I, who ascended to the throne in 1930 after the death of Empress Zewditu, the daughter of Menelik II, (Wagaw 1979:39), ruled Ethiopia until 1974 when he was deposed by the army. The modernization and centralization initiated by Tewodros and continued by Menelik was consolidated by Emperor Haile Sellassie. Ethiopia's first constitution was formulated in 1931. This provided the basis for the creation of the parliament which came into being in 1932 (Wagaw 1979). The Italian occupation of Ethiopia from 1935 to 1941 interrupted autonomous development and Emperor Haile Sellassie left the country to seek refuge in Britain. In 1941 the Italians were forced out of Ethiopia with the help of the British army. Emperor Haile Sellassie continued the consolidation of the empire despite much resistance that was being waged in various parts of the country. The 1973-4 drought that affected much of Ethiopia and the world oil crisis of the early 1970s were among the factors that led to the 1974 Ethiopian revolution. According to Kiros (1990:72), the 1973 Ethiopian Educational Sector Review recommendations were among the major factors that contributed to the 1974 Ethiopian revolution which ended the monarchy in Ethiopia. Ethiopia declared socialism in 1974 under the leadership of the Dergue (military Marxist-Leninist group).

Marxism-Leninism was the ideology the country followed from 1974-1991. During this period, Ethiopia witnessed fundamental social changes. The entire social fabric was transformed. Feudalism was completely uprooted. Highly centralized planning was introduced. Marxism-Leninism became the dominant ideology. Under this regime the infrastructure was improved. Regional development and educational provision improved and, especially with regard to the latter through the national literacy campaign in which it was reported that about 20 million persons had attended the programme up to 1986 and about 9.4 million had attended a post-literacy programme Kiros (1990:88). However, a great number of lives were lost in civil war and by the 'red terror' during this time. The country remained under the Marxist military dictatorship until May 1991 when the dictatorship was deposed by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and other opposition forces, which within three months were able to convene most of the opposition of the communist military dictatorship to draw up a charter and form the Transitional Government which paved the way for the formation of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) in 1995.

The FDRE consists of nine states (1994 constitution, Articles 47 (1) and 46 (2)) which are formed on the basis of settlement pattern, language, and the consent of the nations and nationalities. Ethiopia supports a diverse mix of linguistic groups and some seventy languages are spoken in Ethiopia. The constitution provides the basis for the right to secede to the nations and nationalities. The elaboration of policies in operational terms is still awaited and is the most difficult and controversial area in terms of the exercise of power. The FDRE has chosen to follow the democratic route, promising the participation of people in the affairs of their country. The country has also adopted a

market economy. As Ethiopia is in its infancy with regard to (western) democracy (the Oromo people had the Gada System which was a well developed non-western democracy), it is too early to remark on its successes. However, the claims of the government are not without its critics. For example, Patrick Gilks (1997: 434-9) in writing about 'Recent History' of Ethiopia states that "Armed opposition has appeared in several regions, including the Afar and Benishangul-Gumuz, as well as the externally based OLF [Oromo Liberation Front] and the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF)..." According to The Economist (August 16th 1997:51), these critics include the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), the Ogaden National Liberation Front, the All Amhara People's Organization and the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Coalition, and The Economist reports it as follows: "In the Oromia and Somali regions, parties that had had established local identities by fighting the Mengistu regime, such as the Oromo Liberation Front and the Ogaden National Liberation front have been suppressed as 'terrorists'. Indeed, both these parties grew out of the guerrilla movement." The Economist goes on to say that "But the government also accuses the All Amhara people's Organization and the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Coalition of waging war without producing much evidence that these parties use or advocate violence." (ibid.)

Ethiopia, one of the poorest and least developed countries of the world, whose unification was initiated by force by Emperor Tewodros, successfully accomplished by force by Emperor Menelik II, forcefully and skilfully consolidated by Emperor Haile Sellassie, plunged in civil war and subjected to red terror by the marxist-leninist military dictatorship, and now declared to be following the route to democracy and free

market economy with significant critics of its policies, is the political context in which this research has been undertaken.

The Educational Context

The beginnings of modern education, as indeed modernization in general, are credited to the Emperor Menelik II (Wagaw, 1979: 26; Kiros, 1990: 1). The year 1941 marks the dawn of new era of modernization in Ethiopia following the expulsion of the Italian invaders from Ethiopia. One could, however, hardly speak of an educational system in Ethiopia until the 1940s. The policy of modernization had, however, been initiated earlier towards the end of the nineteenth century. There had, of course, been the well-known traditional church education in Ethiopia. Traditional church education, along with Koranic schools which were introduced much later, had produced most of the literate persons in the society until the emergence of modern schools, according to Kiros (1990:1). The two institutions, the Church and the Mosque, were responsible for conducting traditional education, according to Ahemed Ali and Tewabech Eshete (1990: 1-2). During the five years of occupation of the country by the Italians all schools for Ethiopians were closed and virtually all the Ethiopians who had been exposed to some form of modern education were ruthlessly eliminated (Kiros, 1990:4). From 1942 the expansion and diversification of the provision of education continued. Though the expansion and diversification provision got top priority, the Ethiopian government learnt from the 1961 UNESCO conference of African States, that met in Addis Ababa to discuss Educational Developments, that Ethiopia's educational system was among the most backward. This gave the Ethiopian Government a new challenge.

Ten years later, Ethiopia undertook the Educational Sector Review which came up with far-reaching proposals for educational reform and expansion. The recommendations of the review were among the factors that triggered the 1974 Ethiopian revolution which resulted in the end of the monarchy. From 1974 to 1991 Ethiopia was under the Marxist military government, as discussed elsewhere. During this period the education system of the country experienced several radical changes. The curriculum had to be changed to embrace the Marxist ideology as well as to include such other subjects deemed relevant to the socialist government which resulted in an overcrowding of the syllabus. Education was being reformed as well as being expanded. The national literacy campaign was launched in 1979 and provided literacy instruction in fifteen languages, (Kiros 1990:112), which was a remarkable achievement in itself. The Marxist military government was toppled in May 1991. The Transitional Government of Ethiopia adopted a new Education and Training Policy (ETP) in April 1994 which is still the valid Education and Training Policy Document for the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Ethiopia had a highly centralized education system until the provision of the 1994 ETP. This is evidenced by the following statement from the planning service of the MoE (1981:7)

> "Educational administration was highly centralized in all aspects. The curriculum did not permit local variations. Texts were centrally produced and distributed. Teachers were recruited centrally and appointed and transferred from the centre. Local initiative was inhibited by the large centralized administrative bureaucracy, and local communities in the provinces had no say in the running of the school system."

The overcentralization of educational administration was also one of the most basic issues identified by the participants of the Educational Sector Review according to Kiros (1990:69).

Education at all levels from primary through the university had been free in Ethiopia. The new Education and Training Policy introduced a progressive cost-sharing mechanism from the second cycle of the secondary school through higher education (ETP, 1994: 31 article 3.9.1). Though the policy has been in place since April 1994 it has not been implemented by the time of writing up this research. Education is not compulsory in Ethiopia. The gross participation rate of primary education is below 22% of the relevant age cohorts (ETP 1994:3). Of these a large number discontinue and relapse to illiteracy. According to the new Education and Training Policy (1994:2) the country's education is entangled with complex problems of relevance, quality, accessibility and equity. The following are given as indicators of the low quality of education provided: "Inadequate facilities, insufficient training of teachers, overcrowded classes, shortage of books and other teaching materials, all indicate the low quality of education provided." (ETP, 1994:2)

The structure of Education in Ethiopia

According to the new ETP (1994:14-17, article 3.2) the following is the new educational structure:

Kindergarten for 4-6 year olds

Primary is grades 1-8 (Primary education with eight years duration with two cycles; grades 1-4, first cycle and grades 5-8, second cycle)

Secondary is grades 9-12 (Secondary with four years duration with two cycles; grades 9-10, first cycle and grades 11-12, second cycle.)

Higher education is for diploma, first degree and graduate levels.

Non-formal education will be provided beginning and integrated with basic education at all levels of formal education

The new structure is in the process of being implemented. National examinations are to be taken at the end of grade eight and grade ten, which mark the completion of primary education and the first cycle of secondary education respectively. Satisfactory pass marks (50% according to ETP 1994,18 article 3.3.2 and 3.3.3) have to be attained by the students before going on to the next level.

Low quality of education, a major problem in Ethiopia

As discussed in the preceding section, the low quality of education is a major problem in Ethiopia. The contributing factors to this are numerous, including a lack of resources, increased enrolment, overcrowded schools, high pupil-teacher ratios and poor training for many of the teachers at the various levels. Just to give some evidence for some of the contributing factors, for example, in relation to the increase in enrolment, the number of pupils in primary schools rose from 58,419 in 1952 to 158, 678 in 1962 according to the investigator's calculation based on figures in the World Bank's Discussion Paper on Ethiopia (Kiros, 1990:24). During the same period, the enrolment in the academic secondary and special schools rose from 1,612 to 9,422 (ibid). The figures have more than tripled in both cases. It is of interest to note that the data available even to the World Bank in 1990 were extremely dated. This in itself is indicative of some of the problems facing the Ethiopian education system.

In relation to pupil-teacher ratio, it increased from 1:37 in 1973 to 1:47 in 1983 for junior secondary schools (ERGESE, 1986:13). During the same period, the ratio rose from 1:32 to 1:40 for senior secondary schools (ibid). With regard to training of

teachers, 24% of the teachers do not have professional training (ERGESE, 1986:9). Only 22% of teachers teaching in junior secondary schools posses the qualification required by the Ministry of Education (12 plus 2, which is two years of university) to teach on this level (ibid). Only 43% of the teachers teaching in grade 11-12 hold a university degree (ibid). With regard to efficiency, if it is to be measured in terms of pupil's retention (or dropout) rate, in 1958, according to the 1990 World Bank Discussion Papers on Ethiopia (Kiros 1990:26), only 55% of students that start in grade 1 could continue in grade 2. With regard to secondary schools, during the same period, out of 100 students that start in grade 9 just under 40% make it to grade 12 (Kiros, 1990:27).

Factors that can contribute to the improvement of the quality of education are several amongst which are: proper training of teachers, allocation of adequate resources, provision of adequate teaching materials including text books and other necessary facilities, to list just a few. Accountability is amongst the factors that can contribute to the quality of education particularly in relation to the efficient and effective use of resources and the delivery of services to an acceptable standard. This investigator is strongly of the view that the study of accountability can inform policies which will contribute to improvement of the quality of education in Ethiopia. Sockett (1982:7), in writing about the purposes of accountability, says:

"...the main point on which all its [accountability's] advocates would agree is that it is an attempt to improve the quality of education, and, it is sometimes added, to prove that this is being done."

Thus, the following questions will be pursued to establish the existing and potential modes of accountability in the Ethiopian education system with the hope of bringing the question of accountability into focus.

1. What perceptions of accountability do educationists in Ethiopia have?

2. What are the existing and potential modes of accountability in the Ethiopian education system?

Rationale for the study

Quality is a very elusive term. What one understands by quality can vary from place to place and from situation to situation. In writing about the meaning of quality Tam Tim-Kui (1995:74) says: "...quality is a slippery concept and can mean many things to different people, depending on their roles and perspectives." He also (ibid.) cites Harvey and Green (1993) as stating: "... quality is relative to the users of the term and the circumstances in which it is invoked. It means different things to different people, indeed the same person may adopt different conceptualization at different moments." According to Tam Tim-Kui (1995:75) educational quality can be grouped roughly in six areas which are not necessarily mutually exclusive, namely: fitness of purpose, process perfection, producing positive change, achieving standards, achieving efficiency, or as a combination of a variety of excellence. Therefore, it is useful to define what quality means in this research. Quality in this research will mainly refer to standards and efficiency as the maintenance and/or improvement of standards, as well as efficient and effective use of resources, is vital in the Ethiopian context where resources are meagre. In 1984 , the Ministry of Education embarked on a major

evaluation study with particular attention to the quality of education. Kiros, a member of the committee on Educational Organization, Administration and Planning, says with regard to the findings of the evaluation: "It is quite evident, however, that the basic explanation for the poor quality of education on the primary and secondary school levels are no different from those that prevailed in the past, except that the situation has been aggravated by the continued expansion of enrolment" Kiros (1990:99). Among the findings of the sample survey undertaken in various regions were: The increase of pupil-teacher ratio; the high increase in enrolment which has resulted in overcrowded classrooms in urban areas where it has reached pedagogically unacceptable level (Educational Sector Review, 1996:III); lack of or insufficient training for the teachers at all levels; shortage of education materials and poor management. The quality question seems to have been a chronic and generic problem throughout the history of modern education in Ethiopia and has transcended all the different regimes mentioned in relation to the provision of modern education in this country. The 1961 UNESCO conference in Addis Ababa also indicated the low standard of Ethiopian education. A low quality of education was also one of the weaknesses identified by the Educational Sector Review that took place in Ethiopia in the early 1970s. This problem has been exacerbated by the ever increasing rate of enrolment as mentioned earlier. The study of accountability is essential to the improvement of standards and the amelioration of weak points. According to Becher et al (1981:22) accountability policies must meet two interconnected demands which are: a) preservation and, where possible, enhancement of overall performance through maintenance procedures involving monitoring and reviewing policies, performances and procedures b) detection and amelioration of individual points of weakness through appropriate problem-solving

mechanisms which involves being sensitive to difficulties and making a rapid response to any specific problems that arise.

There are at least seven reasons why accountability and its interpretations are crucial for efficient and effective education in Ethiopia.

First, accountability is often associated with finances by practitioners. But we note that, according to Lello (1979:10 and 1993:1), "It is part of the essential administrative cement in a democratic society." This means that it pervades all areas of activity and is a very useful management tool. Understanding the concept of accountability in education in its different forms is essential to educationists including those concerned with the formulation of educational policies, principals and teachers, especially in countries such as Ethiopia which is at its infancy in relation to democratic ideals. It is essential that administrators, principals and teachers are aware of this interpersonal relationship tool and make proper use of it to meet the educational goals.

Second, Ethiopia is one of the least developed countries and is among the poorest nations with the per capita income of US $100. It therefore depends, to some degree, on foreign loans and aid from the developed countries through bilateral or multilateral arrangements (Educational Sector Review 1996:V). The educational sector is among those that benefit from the resources so acquired . According to the 'Summary table of current projects in the Education Sector in the country' the figure for loan and aid amounted to US $162m for MoE for the years 1994-1997. Ethiopia has to account for the proper use of these resources. As educational administrators, principals and teachers have roles, though in varying degrees, for the proper utilization of these resources, their perception, attitudes and understanding of accountability in its various form is vital for the proper accounting of the resources secured for education through

loans and aid as well as for the efficient and effective utilization of the meagre resources of this poor country. Accountability calls for efficient and effective use of resources (time, money, human, material as well as intellectual).

Third, according to the literature (e.g. Kogan 1986), accountability in education takes many forms. According to this researcher's observation, the prevailing concept of accountability in Ethiopia is accountability to the superiors or paymasters, what is known as contractual accountability. Many educationists including teachers, it seems, understand this concept of accountability only as it immediately impinges on their work. There is a need for educationists in general and teachers in particular to understand the wider aspects of accountability including knowing the groups to whom they are accountable and for what and how they are to be held accountable.

Fourth, it is important for the education service to explain to the public at large what is happening in the schools, as they (the public) are the financers as well as the consumers of education and, therefore, have expectations that the accountability of schools to parents and to the general public should be more visible and more clearly defined. Principals' and teachers' roles in making their school activities transparent to the pubic is essential in gaining and retaining public confidence.

Fifth, in order to encourage private investment in education for the purposes of increasing competition and choice, the government has issued a regulation (Regulations 206/1995) entitled "The Licensing and Supervision of Private Educational Institutions". This new approach requires a different mode of accountability than what had been prevailing in the highly centralized Ethiopia. Thus the understanding of consumer control accountability model is essential for the key educationists in Ethiopia for the successful implementation of the privatization of education.

Sixth, the new Education and Training Policy of Ethiopia provides for an accountability scheme in which teachers are appraised by students and parents as well as school administration. There is thus a need to explore the degree to which educationists are aware that this kind of scheme exists and how they perceive it.

Seventh, since literature on accountability is non-existence on Ethiopian education, this research may add to the literature on accountability in general and to the accountability literature in Ethiopian education in particular.

The Aims of the Research

As far as this writer is aware no accountability related research is being undertaken in Ethiopia at the present time. The intention of this study is to make an initial, very limited, beginning to the study of accountability. It could be rightly argued that the scope of an Ed.D dissertation is far too limited to be able to make any impact on policy. This would be true if the purpose of the study was to produce a body of systematic knowledge on the opinion of educationists on the procedures and processes of accountability which could inform policy. Such knowledge would need to be based on a large-scale national survey. However, in this investigator's view such a survey would be premature without a preliminary study which would identify some of the key issues.

Identifying these issues is thus the major aim of the study. It seeks to achieve this by exploring the conceptions and perceptions of accountability held by educators at three levels of the system: teachers, principals, and administrators. The necessarily small sample of each group means that their views are indicators rather than representative.

Experience of the research, and its outcomes, confirmed that this was the most useful and valuable contribution which could have been adopted at this point, not least since respondents', particularly teachers', conceptions of accountability were initially very vague.

It might be argued that not only could teachers not be expected to have a conception of accountability but there is no need for them to have such a conception since their key task is to follow the accountability procedures established by the higher authorities. However, a belief that underpins this research is that, although respondents at this point in time might have difficulty with the concept of accountability, the development of conception of accountability amongst educationists, and the articulation of such conceptions, is desirable since, as the people who are accountable they should have an opportunity to make their views known on the grounds of both equity and efficiency. This is not to say that the perceptions of educationists should determine policy but it would seem sensible for them to be taken into account.

The basic intention was to explore educationists' existing conception of accountability without any pre-structuring by the investigator and this was done. But it was also anticipated that many of the respondents were unlikely to have 'accountability' as a concept in their professional discourse and that some structuring would be necessary in the interviews. Official documents were also used as the source of data. The methodology underlying this is explained in Chapter 3.

Research Questions

1. What perceptions of accountability do educationists in Ethiopia have?

2. What mode(s) of accountability is predominant in the Ethiopian education system?

3. Should teachers be accountable? If so,

    a) To whom should teachers be accountable? b) For what should teachers be accountable?

4. What accountability procedures have been formulated by the Government in recent years, for example, since 1991?

Before we conclude this chapter, it is necessary to briefly mention about a church organization from which some of the samples of the respondents in the study were drawn, and record that this researcher had been co-ordinator of education and training programme of this church before he had embarked on his present study.

The Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY)

Two points need to be made why this investigator had decided to include subjects from the EECMY in this study. One is that, as will be seen in Chapter Three, access to conduct research in Developing Countries is often difficult. Given the recent history of Ethiopia the investigator was not sure if he would be granted access to Government personnel and thus had to include subjects from an organization where access would be easy. As this investigator had been the co-ordinator of education and training programme of the church before he had embarked on his present study, it was

anticipated that access to the EECMY subjects would be easy. The other reason is that the EECMY operates just over 9% of the non-governmental primary, just under 8% of non-governmental junior secondary, and just above 13% of non-governmental senior secondary schools (investigator's calulations based on the 1995:72-74 MoE statistical data). The EECMY provides these educational services in five of the nine Regional States of Ethiopia. Again based on the investigator's own calculation the EECMY operates slightly over half of one percent of the total education provided in the country. This is very little when seen from the point of view of the educational needs of the country. However, it is a very significant contribution from one non-governmental organization to the educational efforts of the country.

It is however necessary to make clear at this point that it is not the intention of this investigator to make a comparative study of the State and the EECMY educators.

The Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY), established at the national level in 1959, is the largest evangelical church in Ethiopia with a membership of 1.2 million. It operates in, almost, all parts of the country. It is divided into ten synods, two area works and two presbyteries. Its 'motto' is 'serving the whole person' which means to address the spiritual, physical and intellectual needs of a person. In short, it is referred to as 'holistic ministry'. Thus, besides preaching of the Gospel, the church is carrying out various development activities and services such as health care, integrated rural development, child care, relief and rehabilitation and education as well as many other socially beneficial activities. As the educational service is of relevance to this research, it is important to state briefly what educational activities the church is carrying out. The educational activities of the EECMY include:

a) kindergarten

b) regular primary and secondary schools,

c) special education for the deaf, for the blind and for the mentally retarded and

d) vocational and technical schools.

From 1963 to 1990 the church had a literacy campaign programme which was very successful in liberating over one million Ethiopians from the yoke of illiteracy. The church also used to operate four teacher training institutes, one of them on college level.

This Contextual Background Chapter has dealt with, briefly, the geography and demography of Ethiopia, with its economic scene which is largely agricultural, its political scene, its educational scene which has experienced a chronic problem of low quality. It has also addressed rationale for the study, research problem, research questions and aims of the research. Lastly, the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus, a non-governmental organization from where some of the samples were drawn, was beriefly presented with the reasons why the investigator chose to include samples from the EECMY.

Having given in this chapter a necessarily brief outline of the Ethiopian context emphasizing that the development of a system of accountability is, in the view of the writer, one of the ways in which educational quality can be improved, Chapter Two explores the meaning of the concept of accountability through a review of the relevant international literature.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

The literature on accountability and related topics is extensive. This review is therefore selective and covers only those works which have been central to the investigator's thinking or have helped to structure the presentation and discussion of the findings.

The emergence of accountability as an issue

Accountability appears to have emerged as a central policy issue in the UK, USA and a number of other countries in the early 1970s. In the United States it was, according to Martin et al (1976:32) stimulated by a book by Lessinger (1970) entitled 'Every Kid a Winner'. In Britain the accountability movement is usually dated from the 'Ruskin College Speech' of the Prime Minister, James Callaghan. Becher and Maclure (1978:10) quote the Prime Minister as saying: "...I repeat that parents, teachers, learned and professional bodies, representatives of higher education and both sides of industry, together with the government , all have an important role to play in formulating and expressing the purpose of education and the standard that we need."

It is difficult to disentangle the factors that led to the movement but the economic situation following the oil crisis may well have induced politicians to question whether countries were getting full value from the large investment in health, education and welfare. It may be that politicians were also responding to an emerging consumer

movement in relation to the public services. At a slightly later stage it was stimulated by the market approach which in Britain was a key element in Thatcherism. It is possible to identify five broad sources of pressure which, by 1976, were combining to create an expectation that the accountability of schools to parents and to the general public should be more visible and more clearly defined. The five broad sources of pressure identified by Becher et al (1981) are as follows:

i) Research undertaken with the co-operation of teachers had demonstrated that the children benefited educationally when parents were involved and interested in their children's schooling;

ii) The 1960s saw the conception and rapid growth of recognition of consumers' rights;

iii) Related to concept of consumerism, the public which financed the education service became more conscious of its rights to know how the money was being spent;

iv) The same public became, for a number of reasons, less trustful of institutions and of those in position of authority;

v) And finally, debate about educational standards became prevalent.

In addition to the broad list identified above, developments in behavioural psychology also had some impact on the swiftness with which accountability was ushered into use.

Atkin (1979:6) states that:

"Behavioural objectives proved a major tool for the implementation of several accountability schemes because of their apparent precision. What are students expected to do differently as a result of school programmes? Until the advent of behavioural objectives, most teachers were content to state their goals in general terms. Now they are required to introduce a level of clarity that had the potential of fundamentally altering their views of education, not only by moving it toward a goal orientation but also toward a narrower range of aims- namely those that could be stated readily in operational form."

Conceptions of accountability

Taylor (1978:50) writes: "It sometimes seems as if there are as many definitions of accountability as people writing about it." And goes on to (9178:50-51) state:

> "A classification of such definitions would need to include the following; accountability as individual student gain; accountability as feedback; accountability as achievement of objectives; accountability as contract; accountability as maximization of utility."

Not all conceptions of accountability will be reviewed here. The following have particular relevance for the study.

Accountability as contract

The two parties to the contract will come from, broadly speaking, the stakeholders in education e.g. government, community, parents, students and the providers of educational services e.g. teachers, principals and administrators.-who might also act on behalf of stakeholders in ensuring that requirements are fulfilled. The contract entails the explicit requirements and expectations of stakeholders and the areas of responsibility and judgement of professionals. Kogan defines accountability (1986:25) as "condition in which individual role holders are liable to review and application of sanctions if their actions fail to satisfy those with whom they are in accountability relationship." Lello (1979:3) writes: "Accountability implies having an answerable relationship. It involves being called upon to account, sometimes mandatorily, but always with a clear and special responsibility."

Accountability as control

This puts the emphasis on the stakeholder's side of the contract. Accountability entails those requirements and procedures which enable stakeholders to control professional practice.

Kogan (1986:20) writes: "Faith in a professionally led system, under the supervision of politicians, appointed by traditional methods, has been weakened. This has led simultaneously to contradictory proposals for stronger control by public authorities, stronger consumerist participation or partnership, and stronger professional control by teachers themselves."

Accountability as guaranteeing rights

This puts the emphasis on the professionals' side of the contract. Accountability procedures serve to set the limits to the degree to which stakeholders can control the activities of professionals and offers a protection against unwarranted demands. Elliot (1980:75) states: "Accountability is a procedure for reconciling the teaching profession's right to make decisions with the public's right to exert some rational influence on the decisions made." Becher et al (1979:96) claim that accountability need not be seen as a burdensome necessity in meeting external obligations. If properly designed and implemented, an accountability policy can also provide a defence against outside attempts to limit autonomy and the enjoyment of legitimate rights and powers. Such an attempt can take the forms of political encroachment on freedom, or the unjustified erosion of financial entitlements, as well as campaigns to undermine reputation through the media or to destroy it through libellous gossip.

Accountability as obligation

This perspective puts the onus on professionals to account for their activities to stakeholders beyond what is required by a contract. It sees working to a contract as a minimal requirement and positive accountability as a more professional approach. Bush (1994) writes: "At minimum, accountability means being required to give an account of events or behaviour in a school or college to those who have the legitimate right to know."

Accountability and responsibility

This perspective is closely related to accountability but it is listed separately as the relationship between accountability and responsibility is relevant to the interpretation to some parts of the data. Responsibility takes us into the moral and ethical areas of professional practice. Responsibility entails conformity to accountability procedures but goes beyond them. The distinction has also been discussed by Warnock (1977), Pateman (1979), and Hoyle and John (1995). Kogan (1986:26) defines responsibility as "the moral sense of duty to perform appropriately."

Different Models of Accountability

There is in the literature a number of models of accountability each of which incorporates an idea of who should be accountable to whom and how. Fewer models specify for what professionals should be accountable to which stakeholders. Although the forms of accountability are conceptualized separately they usually occur in some form of combination. For example, by far the most common model of accountability is

the 'political' model whereby practitioners are ultimately responsible to the state. However, the mechanism of this form of accountability is through some form of bureaucracy. Thus, although Darling-Hammond distinguishes between 'political' and 'bureaucratic' accountability, they will largely occur in combination. Similarly, Darling-Hammond conceptualizes 'legal' accountability as a distinctive form although it will normally be found in combination with political accountability.-although not inevitably so.

The following table shows some of the key dimensions of accountability as incorporated in recent models.

ACCOUNTABILITY MODELS				
Kogan (1986)	McCormick (1982)	Darling-Hammond (1989)	Elmore and Associates(1990)	'Mac'MacPherson (1996)
• Public or state control • Professional control • Consumerist control	• Formal accountability • Responsibility • Answerability	• Political • Legal • Professional • Bureaucratic • Consumerist	• Technical • Client • Professional	• Contractual • Political • Public • Professional • Moral

Table 2.1: Different Models Of Accountability

These models will not be elaborated at this point, though references will be made to certain of them in the presentation and analysis of the data. However, a little more can

be said about Kogan's (1986) tripartite model which will be the model which is most extensively used in the analysis of the data.

Kogan's (1986) Tripartite Model

Public or state control model

The main formal characteristic of this model is that it is of managerial hierarchy. Its structures are hierarchical, teachers are held accountable by the head for their work. Kogan refers to an earlier work by Jaques (1976) who referred to this type of model as 'bureaucratic accountability'. Kogan goes on to indicate that others refer to it in various names such as 'contractual accountability' or 'public accountability'. According to Kogan (1986) this model has been the dominant model in the United Kingdom even though it is questionable if it still holds position of dominance in the light of many changes since Kogan published the book.

Professional Control Model

This mode of accountability relates to professional self control. Teachers are judged by peers on the basis of their adherence to professional norms and values. This presupposes that the groups of professionals have an established code of conduct in relation to each aspect of their work. Advocates of the professional model of accountability, according to Kogan (1986), are seeking to meet two objectives: (1) to protect schools from demands for product oriented outcomes. This view argues that for accountability not to be determined by external determinations of products or outputs, self-evaluation and self-report by teachers are considered as essential. (2)

responsiveness to clients. This view argues that the stronger the professional autonomy of teachers and schools the more responsive to their clients they will be.

Consumerist Control Model

Kogan (1986:50-51) breaks down the 'consumerist' control model into two, namely: consumerist control partnership, and consumerist control free market.

The essence of the consumer control partnership model is that the parents as clients should participate in a partnership and not in a dependency relationship with teachers. Kogan (1986:50) refers to Sallis (1979), the main proponent of this approach, who argues that links between professionals and clients should contain the following three elements. Consensus about objectives; an exchange of information about methods; and dialogue about the success of what has been done. Sallis (1988:10) claims that "true accountability can only exist in an acceptance of shared responsibility for success at the level of the child, the school, and the service."

The Consumer control free market model provides for accountability through market mechanism rather than through publicly maintained control system. The voucher schemes in operation in many parts of the USA; and in the United Kingdom the introduction of local management of schools (LMS) , which ties schools' income to their ability to recruit pupils, and open enrolment which removes limits on pupils recruitment are powerful elements of free market strategy. The requirements to publish examination and test results and the production of 'The Parents Charter' further enhances the importance of this model of accountability in England and Wales. Bush and West-Burnham (1994:319).

Concepts related to accountability

Accountability is a very broad concept which has emerged internationally in recent years as a political term intended to signal to stakeholders that those who provide professional and other services are subject to some form of monitoring. As such the concept came to embrace a number of practices which preceded the accountability movement. These include:

a) Inspection,

b) supervision,

c) Evaluation

Each of these practices has generated a substantial literature not all of which is relevant to the present study. Consideration of the literature which is relevant to the development of this dissertation is deferred until Chapter Four where is more appropriately placed.

Issues and methods in accountability

Accountability covers a wide range of practices. These can be briefly mapped according to a number of questions.

Who is accountable?

Clearly the teachers are ultimately the unit of accountability. However, because the effectiveness of teaching is a matter not only of the skills of the educational teachers but the context in which he or she works the school is also the unit of accountability with the head as the focus. In some systems larger units are held accountable. For

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example, a Local Education Authority is held accountable to the central government through bureaucratic procedures and now also through inspection.

To whom are units accountable?

It may well be that there is a difference between those to whom a teacher thinks he is or ought to be accountable and those to whom others might argue he ought to give an account (Sockett, 1980:14). The question of significance in the discussion of teacher accountability becomes not one of those to whom teachers as a matter of fact see themselves accountable, but to whom they ought to be accountable. This may lead to a considerable debate. But Sockett (ibid.) argues that teachers ought to be accountable to the following groups whether or not teachers recognize and accept all these levels of accountability.

- individual pupils and parents;
- pupils and their parents as part of the community;
- the teacher's employers,
- the providers of the resources;
- professional peers inside and outside the school;
- other relevant educational institutions;
- the public;
- industry;

Headteachers will also be accountable to the same set of stakeholders.

For What is the unit accountable?

Sockett (1980:15) argues that teachers should be accountable for outcomes and the process leading to those outcomes. He notes that different constituencies may expect different results from the educational process but stresses that teachers can be held to account only for what is in their control.

- for student achievement;
- for student discipline;
- for student welfare;

Headteachers are ultimately accountable for student learning but also for administration and practical matters and, increasingly, for the quality of their leadership and the school culture which they create.

How are the units to be held accountable?

This question has been answered in broad term in the earlier section on issues and methods of accountability. The only point to note here is that there is a substantial literature on the use of learning outcomes as an accountability measure. This has been particularly the case in Britain where league tables based on school achievements in public examinations form an important element in accountability. The dispute is between those who believe that the league tables themselves constitute a sufficiently clear form of accountability whereas others argue that unless these are modified by incorporating a measure of some value added they can be misleading.

Criteria for evaluating the adequacy of an accountability scheme

One can finally note the need to have criteria for evaluating an evaluation scheme drawing specifically on those identified by Nuttall (1982) which will be later used in the analysis of the evaluation in Ethiopia. Nuttall (1982:28-30) drawing on three sets of criteria (Becher and Maclure: 1978, East Sussex Accountability project (ESAP):1980, and Nisbet:1978) came up with the following list which in his words: "...embodies the best and clearest features of all of them and that is reasonably comprehensive." They are:

i) be fair and perceived as fair by all the parties concerned;

ii) be capable of suggesting appropriate remedies;

iii) yield an account that is intelligible to its intended audience(s);

iv) be methodologically sound;

v) be economic in its use of resources;

vi) be an acceptable blend of centralized and delegated control.

The Literature Review Chapter has dealt with the factors that might have led to the emergence of accountability as a political issue, conceptions of accountability, different models of accountability with particular attention given to Kogan's three models, issues and methods in accountability, and Nuttall's criteria for evaluating the adequacy of an accountability scheme. Chapter 3 will deal with the methodology that underpins the study.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

This study seeks to ascertain the perceptions of three sets of educators towards what in the west is termed accountability. Its purpose is to make an initial contribution towards exploring how to make available to government the views of those who would ultimately implement any new accountability procedures. This is based on the assumption that whilst the government may or may not take note of such perceptions, they should at least be available to it.

Given the time and resources available, and the necessarily limited scope of an Ed.D dissertation, there was no way in which the study could generate generalizable data on perceptions of accountability as that would require a national survey. As indicated in Chapter One, the main purpose of the study is to raise issues, and secondly, to explore the viability of generating appropriate policy-related data in relation to accountability.

Given these aspirations, one had to consider the most appropriate and realistic methodology to employ given the constraints faced. A number of issues had to be addressed including:

- a viable approach to research in a very poor developing country,
- a viable approach to research in a country with a recent political history such as that of Ethiopia,
- a sample of respondents adequate for the purposes of the study,
- a viable mode of generating responses to questions centring on concepts which are essentially from the developed world rather than indigenous,
- a viable mode of generating data in relation to the context and the problem addressed,

- a viable approach to analysing and presenting the data acquired.

These issues will be considered in turn.

Research in Developing Countries

Educational researchers in developing countries confront particular difficulties.

Amongst these are the following:

1. Problems of geography, access and transport,

(See Kasanda, 1993:206-221)

2. A low level of research infrastructure,

(See Peresuh, 1994:145)

3. A relatively low level of published research,

(See Kasanda, 1993:206-221)

4. Unwillingness or fear of responding to questions,

(See Kasanda,1993:215)

5. Cultural and political inhibitions in responding to questions,

(See Peresuh,1994:147; Cook, 1998:93-103)

6. Tradition and culture render research difficult,

(See Dzvimbo 1994:202)

7. Lack of funding for research in the developing countries,

(See Dzvimbo, 1994:202; King,1985:109)

The above problems should not imply that respondents at all levels of the educational system are without the knowledge which is of interest to researchers or are incapable of yielding this. This is not the case. Teachers, for example, have a detailed knowledge of curriculum and teaching and their insights can be gained by researches, particularly by the use of a qualitative case-study approach (see Crossley & Vulliamy, 1984). However, the problem can become greater when one is seeking teachers' knowledge and perception of a wider process. Teachers may be only too well aware of the ways in which national policies impinge upon their work and can give their accounts of this, but their knowledge of policy and the concepts entailed might not be so easily recoverable. Accountability would appear to be such a case.

Problems of research in Ethiopia

The general problems of research in developing countries listed above are obviously true of Ethiopia in specific relation to which the following two points can be made.

Size and physical features of the country, Ethiopia

As indicated in Chapter One, Ethiopia is a very large country, the tenth largest in Africa, with the population of approximately 58 million. The physical features of the country comprise of a high plateau in the centre surrounded with low lands. The

variation of the altitude is from 100 metres below to 4000 metres above sea level. If one wishes to do large-scale survey research in relation to secondary schools of the country, one would need to travel to far flung places to visit the secondary schools. There are no flights to the great majority of places in the country in general. Public or private transport is irregular. Moreover, private transport is very expensive. Postal surveys would be unproductive as the postal system is no more efficient than the transport system.

Access and the 'shadow' of recent history

Ethiopia was under the Marxist military government from 1974 till 1991. During the this period, it was inadvisable to utter anything that was critical of the government. Government spies were numerous and anonymous. As some of the civil servants are still the same people, though the government is changed, one would expect that the shadow of previous history lingers on and still influences the way civil servants respond to survey questionnaires or interviews. It is naive to expect that some of these people will not give responses that are politically correct as they would not wish to antagonise the government. Anyone who had survived under the Marxist government will surely have learnt the tricks of making politically guarded statements.

Against this background it is clear that, quite apart from the limited resources available, a large-scale questionnaire approach would have been unproductive. What was needed was a small-scale, face-to-face approach to data collection in a context designed to be unthreatening and supportive.

Obtaining an adequate sample for the purposes of the study

In view of the above problems, it was therefore decided to adopt an interview approach with a view to generating data from a small group of respondents. It was decided that three sets of respondents would be interviewed:

- teachers
- principals
- administrators.

The three categories included interviewees from both government and the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus. As the purpose of the investigation was to identify issues through the perceptions of respondents rather than provide generalizable, valid knowledge systematic sampling was not essential. Moreover, to derive a highly systematic sample of such a small size from such a potentially large population was not feasible. Instead, an opportunity sample from each of the three categories was generated.

Sampling and Sample Size

The research subjects were drawn from both government and non-government organisations. 'Opportunity' sampling (Bogdan and Biklen 1982:67) was used in selecting the informants. The administrators were expected to know the technical meanings of accountability as part of their working language and what accountability procedures are in place within the education system. Because of their roles they were also expected to know if teachers, as units of accountability as discussed in the literature section, are accountable, and if so, to whom and for what. The principals and

teachers of both government non-government schools were selected to seek to establish what concepts of accountability they had. They were also interviewed in order to establish if policies regarding accountability emanating from the Ministry were known to them. Since, as Fullan (1988) notes, policies for change which are made at the top are not always implemented at the grassroots level.

The three categories included administrators from government and church who have direct responsibility for education; principals from government and church senior secondary schools; teachers from government and church senior secondary schools. The samples from the non-government schools were selected from the Ethiopian Evangelical church Mekane Yesus (EECMY). There are two reasons for this. One is that the EECMY runs schools in a majority of the regional states of the country and has been long in the business of providing wide ranging educational services as briefly indicated in Chapter One. The other is that this researcher had been 'Education and Training Programme Co-ordinator' for the EECMY before embarking on his present study and naturally there is an interest in including samples from these organizations- especially as access would be easy.

The final sample was made up as follows:

Government: 7 Administrators; 5 Heads; and 15 Teachers;

Church: 5 Administrators; 4 Heads; and 8 Teachers

There was a total of 44 respondents, 27 from the MoE and 17 from the EECMY.

The three categories sampled do not exhaust the groups who might legitimately have views on accountability. In fact, as will be seen, students and parents are involved in the government's accountability programme. However, it was decided that it would be too ambitious, because of sampling and language problems, to involve these groups.

When the researcher, with official permission from the MoE, went to one of the department heads in the Ministry and discussed with him how to go about getting interviewees in the Ministry, some administrators' names who might be willing to participate in the interview were suggested to him by the department head who also helped in introducing the researcher to these administrators either in person or by telephone. It was originally planned to interview four administrators from the government. The number was originally conservative for fear of not getting access to these respondents. But it was possible to interview seven administrators. As far as administrators from the church were concerned there was no problem of access. Three administrators from the church central office and two administrators from one of synods with a secondary school were selected. The later were selected based on availability during the investigator's visit to schools in thier area.

There was economic consideration in the selection of the schools from which the samples were drawn. The secondary schools outside of the capital were selected on the basis of proximity to church secondary schools so that the researcher could combine trips to the schools. In one church secondary school two heads, one incoming, the other outgoing, were interviewed as they were exchanging roles during that period. In one government secondary school the deputy who was acting on behalf of the principal was interviewed as the principal was away.

Teachers who were interviewed were suggested by the principals and the researcher did not have much influence over who participated in the interview. It depended on who was available during that shift (government secondary schools in Addis Ababa teach in shifts) and who was willing to participate.

There were 44 interviewees, 4 females and 40 males. The age of the interviewees ranged from 26 - 62 years. Their educational levels are as follows: 2 Diploma; 26 BA/BSc; 2 BA/BSc+ (more than BA/BSc and less than MA/MSc); 13 MA/MSc; and 1 Doctorate degree holders.

Their years of service in the position when they were interviewed ranged from 1 month to 30 years. The interviews ranged from 17- 68 minutes in duration with an average of 34 minutes. Given the limited control the investigator had over the selection of the sample it was not possible to ensure equal representation according to age, qualifications, gender etc. Thus differences between their responses do not figure in the analysis. With regard to the ratio of females and males in the sample, the great majority of teachers in the senior secondary schools in Ethiopia are males because of cultural and historical reasons. That is what this sample reflects.

Problems of language and conceptualisation

One problem of language was the variable access to English on the part of respondents. This is discussed in the following section. In this section a more fundamental problem needs to be addressed.

The central concept of this study is that of 'accountability'. This a semi-technical concept used in educational discourse in the west, where there is broad agreement about its meanings but specific definitions vary and different writers may give the concept slightly different meanings. It was likely that the concept formed part of the discourse of only one of the three sets of respondents, the administrators. It was unlikely that the other two sets would have accountability as part of their discourse.

One question which arises is whether, if respondents do not have the concept as part of their discourse, there is any point in seeking their perceptions. Obviously the investigator answers this question in the affirmative. Although some respondents may not have the concept in their discourse, they will have experienced the processes and procedures of accountability and, furthermore, the Government is expecting educationists to make a positive response to policies of accountability. Thus it is a tenet underpinning this investigation that, whether or not educationists have the concept of accountability within their professional discourse, means need to be found of establishing their perceptions of the process for which the word stands. This raises methodological problems which can now be briefly addressed. (It also raises philosophical problems which are beyond the scope of this study)

The debate about modes of data collection has been a long-running one and will not be repeated here. Some of the key contributors to the debate are (Bryman, 1995; Bogdan and Biklen, 1992; Burgess (ed.), 1985; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, and Dey, 1993).

At one end of a theoretical continuum is the pre-structured questionnaire; at the other end is the phenomenological approach which seeks to capture respondents' own concepts-in-use either by recording speech in natural settings or conducting very open interviews to explore what meanings respondents attach to words or to social situations.

The fact that many of the respondents would not have accountability as part of their normal discourse clearly imposed great limitations on the use of a pre-determined questionnaire. Even though it would have been possible to construct questions based on the actual processes of accountability, but it was felt that this would too

overdetermine their responses in relation to the purpose of the research. On the face of it there might have seemed a good case for a phenomenological approach seeking to elicit the concepts in daily use by means of which respondents engaged with the processes which are collectively termed 'accountability'. However, this was rejected on three grounds: the highly labour-intensive nature of such an enterprise, the potential problem of generating sufficient 'language' from participants in view of the problems arising from research in developing countries as outlined above, and the potentially serious problem of coding.

It was decided to adopt an intermediate approach with different elements drawing upon the two major approaches. All three sets of respondents were invited to put their own construction on the concept of 'accountability', each set was then asked specific questions about accountability with clarifications made about the concept by the interviewer where necessary. With one set, the administrators, who were judged to be likely to have a concept of accountability in their vocabularies, a focused interview (Merton, 1956) approach was adopted. Details of the interview methods used are given below. Interviews formed the main source of data but use was also made of documentary material from official sources.

Interviews

Yin (1984:82) acknowledges that "One of the most important sources of case study information is the interview." Interviews can take several forms. They can be open-ended in nature in which an investigator can ask key respondents for the facts of a matter as well as for the opinion of the respondent about an event. The other form of interview is the focused interview in which the respondent is interviewed for a short

period of time and the interviewer is more likely to be following a certain set of questions derived from the case study protocol (Yin 1984:83). Powney and Watts (1987:17) somewhat divert from the conventional approaches of categorising interviews into 'structured' and 'unstructured', 'focused' and 'unfocused', 'limited; and 'in-depth' interviews and have chosen to characterise interviewing into just two main types and called them 'respondent interviews' and 'informant interviews'. They admit that these two terms have not yet achieved consensus status. The major distinction between their two approaches is in where lies the locus of control for what happens throughout the interviewing process. In respondent interviewing the interviewer retains control throughout the whole process and the locus of control remains with the interviewer during the entire process. The interviewing is structured by the intention of the interviewer. The interview could be tightly structured which means it follows a fairly clear and well-maintained schedule or pre-organized plan. Or they could be loosely structured interviews which implies a general set of ideas to which the interviewer would like some responses at some point in the session, though the order and exact wordings are not relevant (ibid. 18-19). In the informant interview the locus of control lies with the interviewee. In this approach the goal of the interviewing is to gain insight into the perception of particular person or persons within a situation. The agenda might be tightly or loosely structured , but in this case it is the interviewee who imposes it and the locus of control is with the interviewee. This approach is used when the interviewers do not know what line of questioning they will use until they have the chance to find out what kind of information is available. Powney and Watts (1987: 18). In this study a semi-structured interview was employed which is half way between the structured and unstructured because the study is concerned both

with concepts of the subjects about the question under investigation as well as in the dissemination of the concept and thus has some pre-organized questions which need to be addressed in order to answer the research question in its totality. This research employed the respondent interviews as the locus of control was, mainly, with the interviewer throughout the interview process.

Documents

"Except for the studies of preliterate societies", says Yin (1984: 79), "documentary information is likely to be relevant to every case study topic." The securing of information through documentation can take many forms such as written communiqué, memoranda, administrative documents, formal study or evaluation of the same 'site' under study and other articles appearing in mass media. Yin (1984:80) further notes that the usefulness of these other types of documents is not based on their necessary accuracy or lack of bias and warns that they must be carefully used. This research was not intended to make documentary analysis, rather it was intended to use official documents from MoE as supplementary sources of data relevant to educational accountability.

Construction of The Interview Schedule

(See the interview schedule, Appendix II).

In this research, 'implicit' questions are those questions that do not mention the word 'accountability' and 'explicit' questions are those questions that mention the word 'accountability'.

The interview schedule questions were constructed by this researcher, with the guidance and help of his dissertation supervisor. Some of the implicit questions were adopted from Broadfoot et al (1993:139) and modified to fit the needs of this research. The interview questions were progressively focused and divided into four parts:

Part I consists of a set of ten implicit interview questions which are intended to establish the respondents' implicit concepts of accountability;

Part II consists of the second set of questions (11 questions) and it is divided into A, B, C and D;

A) Consists of one open-ended question to establish their explicit concepts of accountability by direct questions for the grasp of the word and concept;

B) Consists of one open-ended question to establish their perceptions of the modes of accountability;

C) Consists of eight explicit questions to elicit their perceptions of modes of accountability;

D) One open-ended question was asked in order to establish their factual knowledge of policies for accountability.

Part III included the focused interview based on Kogan's three models of accountability with their descriptions as given by Kogan (1986:25). This part was for the administrators only.

Part IV of the interview schedule consists of questions to elicit personal data for all.

The interview schedule questions were refined and piloted. The piloting was based on only one person because of lack in Britain of persons with similar experiences to the intended interviewees. This person had worked both in government and church secondary schools as a teacher as well as deputy principal. The final refinement to the schedule was made and the researcher left for his fieldwork.

Negotiating Access

To conduct a research project permission has to be sought from the relevant authorities at the appropriate levels. Negotiation of access is, as pointed out by Seidman (1991:31), fundamental to the success of the research process. Having permission for access, normally, influences the relations between the researcher and the researched and ultimately the type of information one is likely to obtain (Tsayang 1995:55). Negotiation to conduct this study commenced in March 1996 when I approached, with a 'To whom it may concern' letter from my supervisor at the University of Bristol, His Excellency Dr. Solomon Gidada, ambassador of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) to the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, and requested him to write a supporting letter to the Ministry of Education (MoE) of FDRE which he kindly did. In May 1996 when I returned to Ethiopia to actually carry out the fieldwork I also had to have a supporting letter from the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY), my sponsors, to the Ministry of Education in support of my request for access. After about two weeks permission to conduct the research was initially secured from the MoE. If one has to conduct research in the regions additional permission has to be secured from the relevant educational bureaux of the regions as the regions are autonomous in many aspects.

Burgess (1984:48-49) notes that there is a need for a continuous negotiation for entry, as sometimes there are several gatekeepers who can either grant or deny access. In the case of this research, negotiations had to be undertaken at several levels, namely: on the federal MoE level, on the level of Regional Education Bureaux, on the Zonal Education Offices, on the Woreda (District) Education Office, and on school levels as well as on the levels of the individuals to be interviewed. Negotiation for access at various levels is vital as Wolcott (1971:106) questions the authority of anyone in the system to 'volunteer' the co-operation of the subordinates for participation in research. In underscoring the importance of negotiating access at different levels, Burgess (1984:51) says that "access should not merely be negotiated with those who occupy the highest position in social situations but with individuals at different levels so as to avoid misunderstanding." He goes on to say: "Furthermore, in situations where different groups are involved it is essential to negotiate with all the parties so as to avoid accusation of bias and to prevent the research report being considered partisan." Thus receiving a "To whom it may concern" letter from the Federal MoE was just the beginning, a crucial stage though, of the negotiation for access to conduct the research. I had to present all support letters from the federal MoE, my supervisor and the EECMY to the education bureaux of the two regions where the research was to be conducted, namely: the Addis Ababa Region Education Bureau (Region 14) and the Oromia Region Education Bureau (Region 4). The Addis Ababa Education Bureau was willing to address its own supporting letter directly to both the six Zonal Education Offices and all the senior secondary schools within the region bypassing the several Woreda (District) Educational Offices thus saving me time. With this letter it was possible to go directly to the relevant senior secondary schools and negotiate

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access on the school level with the principal and the teachers. The situation with the Oromia Regional Education Bureau was different in that they were only willing to address the supporting letter to the Zonal Education Offices, not to the District Education Offices or to the senior secondary schools directly. This meant that I had to go to the Zonal Education Offices to get permission. As I was going to conduct the research in only one of the 12 zones of the Oromia Region, I requested permission for two (contingency planning) zones which was readily granted. With all the relevant support letters (from the MoE, from the Oromia Regional Education Bureau and from my supervisor) as well as my own application, I was able to negotiate access from the Western Wollega Zonal Education Office to directly go to the Senior secondary schools within the Zone bypassing the District Education Offices, again that enabled me to save some time.

In discussing the accessibility of the data sites with my supervisor I expressed my concern that access to the subjects and documents from the government might take quite a bit of negotiating before entry was secured. The fact that Ethiopia had a monarchy up until 1974, and then was under highly centralized Marxist military government until May 1991 had a Transitional Government until mid 1995, and is presently a federal democratic republic indicates that the country is at its infancy stage with regard to democracy and thus there was a legitimate concern regarding access for research. The fact that access had to be negotiated at several levels, and the need to produce evidence of support from the hierarchy, indicates that there is still an element of fear in releasing information without a positive signal from the higher authorities.

As nobody in the hierarchy wants to take responsibility for granting permission for the research, negotiation for access had to start from the top and go down to the level of

individuals. Going to various offices was, of course, not easy as it involved lots of effort, time and resources. Given the recent history of the country, this researcher was pleasantly surprised that he was able to secure the permission to conduct the research. The researcher knew one of the influential people in the ministry who had been informed about the research during the researchers exploration of the topic, about nine months prior to the actual negotiation. As a very important person in the MoE this individual was very helpful in introducing the researcher to several of the administrators. As Burgess (1984: 51) indicates knowledge of informal gatekeepers is vital for negotiating access. Access to the church subjects was not a problem as the researcher had been working in the educational sector of the church before he embarked on his present study.

Constraints in consulting official documents

Though access to the interviewees was made possible, access to written official document was very difficult or, in most cases, impossible. Sometime it was made possible for me to get limited written documents to photocopy , in one case, by depositing my ID card with the person as a guarantee. Photocopy machines were not easily accessible and they are a bit expensive. All documents were written in Amharic, the federal government's official language. In most instances the materials were scarce or not made available to an individual researcher. Generally, there is acute an shortage of printed official documents.

The interview process

With all the three groups, at the beginning of the interview, the researcher expressed his gratefulness for their willingness to participate in the research interview and also the question of confidentiality was addressed. The interviewees were promised that their identities would not be revealed if they so desired. It was agreed that they remain anonymous. The investigator also emphasized that their truthfulness would be useful for the research that intends to contribute to the improvement of the quality of education in 'our' country.

The interviews with all the administrators were conducted in their respective offices. The mode of interview was one-to-one and face-to-face. The interviews were tape-recorded with the consent of the respondents. In addition to the questions put to all the other respondents, the administrators were provided with Kogan's three models of accountability for a short period before they were asked to respond to questions related to the models.

The interviews with the principals were also conducted in their respective offices except for two, one of whom was interviewed in his home while the other was interviewed in Addis Ababa while in transit to the USA. Again, with this group the interview was one-to-one and face-to-face, tape-recorded with their consent.

The interviews with the teachers were conducted either in their principals' offices or in an empty classroom. The interviews were also one-to-one and face-to-face, tape-recorded with the consent of the interviewees.

Limitations of the study

Lack of material on the subject in general and research material in particular, in the context this research took place, is one limitation.

As the study dealt with twelve administrators, eight principals and twenty three teachers, the question of generalizability beyond the samples is another limitation of the study.

The researcher had been co-ordinator of education and training for the church organization that was part of the study. The question of the researcher effects, particularly on the church subjects, was going to be another limitation in addition to the general effect of researcher bias. But regarding the identity of the researcher, Lofland and Lofland (1984:17) say, "...identity category barriers to acquiring rich data are unquestionably real and should be taken into account in planning ones research but should not be overemphasised." In this specific instance in Ethiopia, as discussed earlier in this chapter, where interviewees may become suspicious or are afraid of interviewers the present researcher being an insider from one of the organizations that is to be researched is an asset because respondents knowledge of the researcher can be unthreatening and supportive and thus can enable the respondents to open up.

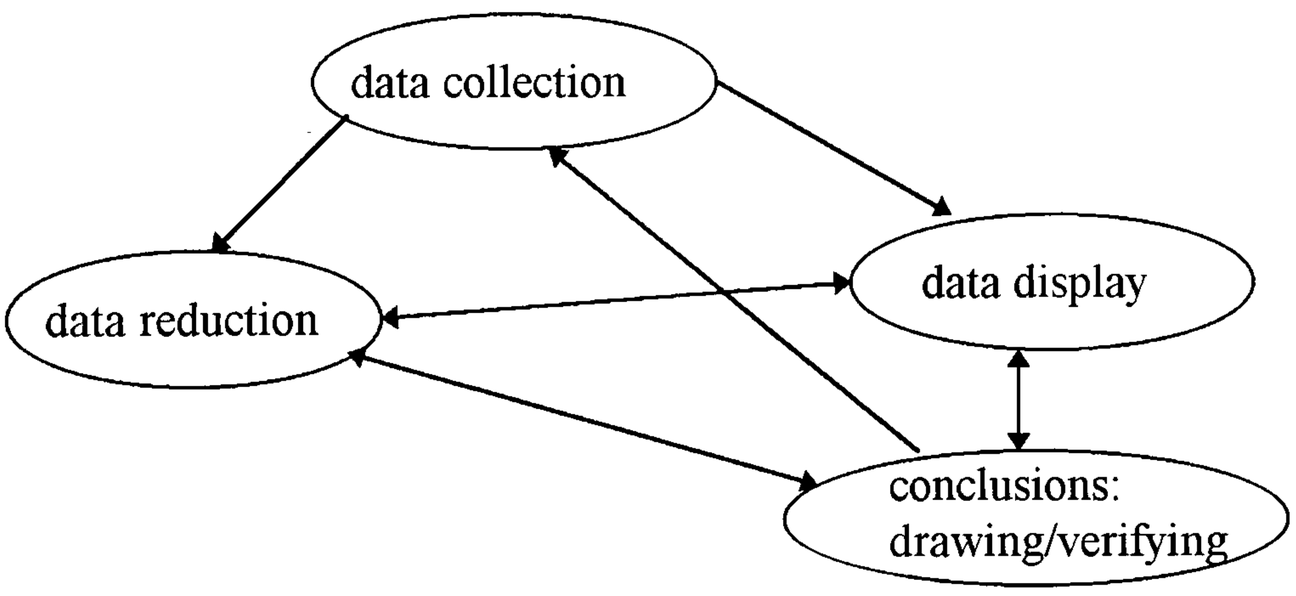
The research was conducted in the English language. The respondents were told that they could use any of the local languages the researcher could understand if they so wished. But it would not have been easy to articulate the concept of accountability in those languages. The limited piloting was also another limitation.

Data Analysis

In qualitative research data collection and data analysis, according to Richards and Richards (1994:149), who also refer to Burgess (1984), and Hammersley and Atkinson (1983), should not be regarded as sequential stages. Analysis commences with the process of data acquisition and continues to the end of the project.

Miles and Huberman's (1994:12) 'Interactive Model' of data analysis captures this essence of the process involved and thus was followed in this analysis.

Model 3.1



Source: Miles and Huberman, (1994:12)

Miles and Huberman (ibid.) hold the view that qualitative data analysis has three concurrent flows of activity: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification.

Categories for coding of responses

This is essentially a qualitative study and the data reported in the findings are mainly qualitative data. However, the data were also grouped according to a simple scheme of

quantification. This was carried out for two reasons. One reason was that in advance of the fieldwork the investigator could not be sure how forthcoming the respondents would be and thus how much qualitative data would be available. As a fail-safe device a coding system was devised which enabled the investigator to present interview data in numerical form. The other reason was to provide simple numerical data to support generalisations made about the balance of responses given on particular issues and it forms the basis of the cases and percentages given within the text in Chapter Four. The numerical data are given in full in appendix IV.

Developing a scheme for the coding of responses to the ten implicit questions in part I and eight explicit questions in part IIC according to the following five categories:

- Yes, for definite 'yes';
- Qualified yes (qy), for 'yes, but';
- Ambivalent, for 'neither yes nor no';
- qualified no (qn), for 'no, but';
- No, for 'definite no'.

If the response was ‘yes’ I tick yes; if the response was ‘yes, but’ I tick in the qualified yes category. If the response was ‘No’ I tick in the No category; if the response was ‘No, but’ I tick in the qualified no category. As far as content is concerned there is no real difference between qualified yes ('yes, but') and qualified no ('no, but'). If the response was neither yes nor no, then I tick in the

ambivalent’ category (See Appendix IV for details of data display and analysis).

Step 1

After data were collected over a four and half-month period, data transcription was carried out over a-four month period, taking this researcher's full involvement with some assistance from a professional audio typist who transcribed about half of the tapes. It had to be edited as the audio typist was not expected to know names of the people or places.

Step 2

Each individual interviewee's response to each of the eighteen questions (ten implicit in part I and eight explicit in part II.C) were marked on their transcripts according to the five categories, given above, into which it was planned to categorize the responses. Their 'reasons' for their responses were also noted. This was done for all the 44 respondents for the eighteen questions.

Step 3

Responses of each category of respondents with their reasons were clustered separately for each of the eighteen question in Step 2 above (data reduction). Percentages of how many of the respondents in each set give the different category of responses were calculated for each set separately which is the basis for the numerical data tables in Appendix IV.

Step 4.

Then, responses that were separately clustered for each of the three sets for each question were further clustered together according to the 'concept' the questions were

originally intended to 'implicitly' or 'explicitly' address. Thus, data reduction and data display were accomplished by clustering the responses of the various groups around those issues they were 'implicitly' or 'explicitly' addressing. For example, responses of the various groups to the 'implicit' question that was meant to address accountability of teachers to parents and the responses of the various groups that were meant to 'explicitly' address the accountability of teachers to parents were grouped together.

Step 5

Data display was the second major flow of data analysis activity and generally an organised, compressed assembly of information that permits conclusion drawing and action is displayed. This was accomplished by clustering all the responses from all the three sets of respondents around the 'issues' or 'themes' they 'implicitly' or 'explicitly' addressed arranging it into statistical tables (See appendix IV for numerical summary which was meant to give the reader a snapshot, no comments included) and by briefly writing the reasons for their responses. The numerical summary was included in the research as data display to give the readers an overview of the findings at a glance. It summarizes responses to questions in part I and part II.C. Otherwise all the data were qualitative data.

There was a constant going back and forth between data display to data reduction and the data to check if all the data were properly classified, not missed, accounted for.

Step 6.

The responses to the open-ended question seeking the respondents' knowledge of the existence of accountability policy were directly recorded depending on whether the respodents knew or did not know.

Step 7

The responses of the administrators who were presented with focused interview (given Kogan's (1986:24) three models of accountability prior to the interview) were also directly recorded depending on which model each respondent said was predominant in the Ethiopian education system.

Step 8.

Responses to the open-ended question seeking their perceptions of what the teacher should be accountable for was listed item by item for each respondent. Obviously the items that were redundant were not repeated. The responses were grouped into broad categories for further analysis and discussion in Chapter 4.

Coding of Respondents

For the purpose of this research the three sets of respondents will be coded as follows: The administrators' group was not separated into government and church to preserve anonymity. The principals' and teachers' groups were separated into government and church groups.

Administrators= Adm; to refer to a specific administrator codes adm1, adm2,...adm 12 were used.

Principals=p; they were separated into government and church secondary school principals.

gsp=government secondary school principal; to refer to a specific government secondary school principal codes gsp1, gsp2...gsp5 were used.

csp=church secondary school principal; to refer to a specific church secondary school principal codes csp1, csp2,...csp4 were used.

Teachers=t; they were separated into government and church secondary school teachers.

gst=government secondary school teacher, to refer to a specific teacher codes gst1, gst2...gst15 were used.

cst=church secondary school teacher, to refer to a specific church secondary school teacher codes cst1, cst2,...cst8 were used.

Issues emerging from the data analysis

The following five issues emerged from the data on the basis of an interplay between the data itself and the organizing concepts derived by the researcher from the literature. Dey (1993:7) in support of the interplay between idea and data writes: "...I assume that qualitative analysis requires a dialectic between ideas and data. We cannot analyse the data without ideas, but our ideas must be shaped and tested by the data we are analysing." This was done by categorizing the various responses according to the category of respondents and according to the questions, Bryman and Burgess (1994:118-9). First, the responses of each respondent to the first ten implicit questions

were categorized according to the coding of the responses indicated above on the transcriptions. Second, the responses of each respondent to the eight explicit questions were categorized in a similar manner.

Third, responses of the three sets of respondents for each of the ten implicit question in part I and eight of the explicit questions in Part II C, were categorized indicating how many respondents in each category said 'yes', 'yes, but', 'amb.', 'no, but', and 'no'. This is repeated for each of the ten implicit and eight explicit questions. Then a table indicating the percentages is worked out for each of the ten implicit and eight explicit questions. Then questions from the implicit and explicit questions addressing the same concept were grouped together to form a figure. For example, if the questions were implicitly or explicitly addressing accountability of teachers to parents, then they were grouped together. In the same manner, responses of respondents addressing the accountability of teachers to superordinates (head, inspector/supervisor, and government) were grouped together. Such groupings formed what is termed 'figure' in this research. Figure represents tables of the three sets of respondents (administrators, principals and teachers) to the question addressing the same constituency (See figure in Appendix IV for clarity). The interplay between responses to the implicit, explicit and open-ended questions that were set to address similar or the same question and elements from the documentary sources relevant to the organizing concepts and the judgement of the investigator contributed to the emergence of the issues. Dey (1993:20) says: "Categorizing brings together a number of observations we consider similar in some respect,..." Others emerged as the result of the responses of the respondents to the open-ended questions as mentioned above. The issues were:

- Concepts of Accountability and Responsibility,

- Accountability and the Teachers' Role Expectation,
- Accountability and the new National Evaluation Scheme
- Inspection and Supervision,
- Centralization and Decentralization.

In identifying these five issues this researcher does not claim to have exhausted all the possible issues that could have emerged out of such a voluminous data and its analysis. But to this researcher, these issues are of immediate relevance to the accountability policy debate in Ethiopia in light of Ethiopia's 'newness' to democracy, Lello (1979:10, and 1993:1) sees accountability as part of an essential administrative cement in a democratic society which is also affirmed by Macpherson (1996). These issues are also expected to encapsulate some of the essence of what this research aims to accomplish in the present Ethiopian context, which is to stimulate and strengthen the accountability debate and thus contribute to participatory and viable accountability policy formulation.

In sum, this chapter dealt with particular difficulties educational researchers in developing countries face, and in light of these constraints designed a viable, realistic project by selecting an approach which would be unthreatening and supportive to those who participate in the research. The survey approach was ruled out on grounds of resources, both money and time; the nature of the research question it tries to address and other constraints such as access to various parts of the country because of distance and poor or non-existent communication infrastructure. An extreme phenomenological approach was also avoided because the potential problem of generating sufficient

language from the participants in view of the problems arising from research in developing countries, high labour-intensive nature of such an enterprise, and the potentially serious problem of coding. An intermediate approach with different elements drawn from both approaches was argued for and adopted. Imposition of the concept of accountability as well as asking respondents for their first construct was the approach utilized. Interview and official documents were the sources for the data. Interview schedule was constructed and piloted. Three categories of respondents were selected by 'opportunity' sampling, teachers, principals and administrators from both government and non-government organizations. Negotiating access and scarcity of official documents were indicated. Interview process was discussed as one-to-one, face-to-face and recorded. Data was categorized according to earlier classification by the investigator. Miles and Huberman's (1995:12) 'interactive model' was followed for the data analysis. Five issues were selected from the massive research material and these five issues were selected on the grounds that they would be relevant in the accountability debate in Ethiopia in the immediate future. The presentation, interpretation and discussion of these issues will be dealt with in Chapter 4.

Chapter Four : Presentation and Interpretation of Data

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to contribute to the development of a viable pattern of educational accountability in Ethiopia over the next ten to fifteen years by ascertaining the views of different sets of key educationists.

The central problem in determining their views is that respondents may have: a) an explicit concept of accountability as generally used in the western literature, b) an implicit concept of accountability, c) no concept of accountability.

It was anticipated that some sets e.g. administrators, would have an explicit concept but that the other sets, headteachers and teachers, would have an implicit or no concept of accountability. The methodology of generating the data varied accordingly i.e. presenting focused interviews to the administrators group.

Data was obtained from the groups by, in the interview, striking a balance between:

a) 'imposing' a concept of accountability,

b) by asking extremely open-ended interviews in which first-order constructs of accountability might emerge,

c) by so structuring and focusing the interview so that implicit or explicit concepts would be likely to emerge.

From the wealth of interview material which emerged, five issues were selected for discussion. These do not, of course, exhaust the data collected. These issues were selected on the basis of an interplay between:

a) the data itself,

b) the sensitising concepts derived by the researcher from the literature (which implicitly guided the formulation and organization of the interview schedule).

The purpose of highlighting these issues is that they are relevant to the policy debate concerning accountability in the Ethiopian context.

Although it would have been neat to have had precisely the same format for each section, this would have been inappropriate. The structure of the sections varies according to the relationship between interview data, historical context, documentary material and the existing literature. The relationship between these varies within each section according to the needs of the argument.

Section 4.1 deals with 'Conceptions of Accountability and Responsibility', Section 4.2 deals with 'Accountability and Expectation of The Teacher's Role' , Section 2.3 deals with 'Accountability and the National Evaluation Scheme', Section 4.4 deals with 'Accountability, Inspection and Supervision', and Section 4.5 deals with 'Accountability, Centralization and Decentralization'. Now we turn to consideration of the issues.

4.1 Conceptions of Accountability and Responsibility

One of the main aims of this dissertation is to contribute to the policy-making at the national level in relation to educational accountability. A basic assumption underlying the study is that policy-making is likely to be enhanced if it has an access to, and has an opportunity to take account of, the views of practitioners such as teachers and principals who will be expected to meet the requirements of any national or local framework of accountability. No assumption is made here that research findings such as that reported in this study would necessarily be the only source of practitioners' concepts of accountability, not least because of the small-scale and therefore limited nature of the research. This would also be true of a large-scale survey, though such a study would be a valuable next step. Practitioners' concepts are available from other sources such as supervisors' and inspectors' reports. Nor is it assumed that policy should be wholly shaped by the views of those who will have to deliver on accountability requirements. There are two obvious reasons for this. One is that, as we shall see from the study, not unexpectedly practitioners do not have a sophisticated grasp of the concept of accountability, indeed they may have no explicit grasp of all of the concept. Nonetheless, whatever implicit notion of accountability they have should not be ignored. Secondly, policy should not necessarily be wholly based upon the views of the practitioners even if there is a dominant and coherent position, which is unlikely. Politicians, representing society as a whole, will have their own agenda, as will other stakeholders, and these will not necessarily be congruent with the views of practitioners. Nevertheless the views of practitioners cannot be discounted.

In seeking to establish concepts of accountability two problems presented themselves to the researcher. One was that it was likely, and this assumption was made, that administrators would have a much more sophisticated understanding of the concept of accountability as given in the, largely western, literature than either principals or teachers. A second problem was that whilst it might be expected that few practitioners would have an explicit concept of accountability they might have implicit and variously expressed views on whether, and how, they should be responsive to various sets of stakeholders for their practice. These problems were discussed in Chapter Three. Most of the material dealing with their grasp of accountability as a concept was generated by the questions:

'What does accountability mean to you?'

'What do you understand by the word accountability?'

Responses will be discussed separately for each of the three sets.

Responses of Administrators

Although it might have been anticipated that administrators would have the term 'accountability' as part of their professional language and be in the position to give a technical, or at least a semi-technical, definition of the term this proved not to be the case. Administrators responded by equating the term accountability to responsibility. This response was given by nine interviewees out of twelve. Other terms commonly used in the interview were: 'being in charge'; 'answerable to'; 'evaluated'; 'understanding our limitations'. The following are some of the actual phrases used:

"...to be answerable to..." (adm1)

"...that there is a planned activity, if that planned activity is not fulfilled accordingly, then I am responsible for that..." (adm4)

"...accountability is sort of responsibility; responsibility to something; feeling responsible; being incharged upon something." (adm6)

"...feel responsible for the job entrusted or task to further the objectives or plan of the organization." (adm11)

"...to be responsible for something to which we have been assigned or appointed to do. To be asked for the work we have done." (adm9)

"...taking responsibility for one's action." (adm3)

"The sense of understanding of our limitations. To be evaluated by persons who have given us the mandate-in heavenly realm, or in front of the people who have delegated this power to us." (adm8)

"...responsibility; inchargedness." (adm7)

There are two main points to be made about the responses of the administrators to the questions seeking their understanding of the concept of accountability. One is that no technical or semi-technical definition was given. The other is that the term 'responsibility' was by far the most frequently given synonym for accountability.

Responses of Principals

The expectation that there would be few technical definitions given by school principals proved to be the case. As with the administrators 'responsibility' was the term most frequently used in their responses. Seven respondents out of nine incorporated it in their replies. Other terms used included: 'to be asked for [to be questioned about]';

'giving reasons'; 'justifying'; 'answerability'. The following are some of the expressions used by the respondents in this category.

"...to be asked for what somebody is responsible." (gsp4)

"...responsible for..." (gsp1)

"Teterinet yimesilgnal" [Amharic for 'it seems to me answerability or responsibility'] (gsp3)

"...method of reasoning or justifying" (gsp5)

"...being responsible for what we do to a person or for a person." (csp3)

Responses of Teachers

Responses of teachers differed little from those of the other two groups. No technical or semi-technical definitions were given. 'Responsibility' was cited by thirteen out of twenty-three respondents in this category. Other terms used included: 'answerable'; 'being asked for'; 'being questioned'; 'carry out according to plan'; 'to have an obligation to explain'. The following are some of the expression used in their responses:

"...responsibility; conscious responsibility..." (gst6)

"...they have the right to ask me; I should explain to them." (gst5)

"...responsible to; answerable to..." (cst7)

"...responsibility that we take in our work." (cst5)

"...responsible for whatever action one takes." (cst6)

"...being questioned by someone, being asked for reference, for things; being asked by someone in authority." (cst2)

"...to be held responsible for certain things." (cst8)

Discussion

Although it might have been expected that some of the administrators would have been sufficiently familiar with the concept of accountability as used in the western literature, no technical definitions were forthcoming in this part of the interview. The administrators' responses to questions dealing with specific models of accountability will be discussed in Section 4.5 of this Chapter. Not surprisingly, neither the principals nor the teachers gave technical definitions. This does not, of course, mean that they do not have implicit concept of what is termed 'accountability' in the western literature. They do have such concepts and their nature is of sufficient interest for this to contribute to one of the major issues arising from the research. It can be briefly expressed as follows: Although Ethiopian educators generally do not yet have 'accountability' as a concept-in-use (Argyris and Schon, 1974), they have a concept of 'responsibility' which is wider and, in some ways, more fundamental. It is useful at this point to note the distinction made in some of the western literature between 'accountability' and 'responsibility'.

Distinction between Accountability and Responsibility

Hoyle and John (1995) explore the concepts in some detail and, therefore, it would be useful to draw on their work in order to better understand the distinction. Accountability, according to Hoyle & John (1995:104),

"...entails meeting requirements of a set of procedures designed to assure the various clients of the profession that the accounting units (e.g. individual teachers, departments, schools, etc.) are meeting appropriate standards of practice."

They argue that with accountability practice is pre-ordained as relatively routine. Teachers are acting as agents. Professionality entails efficient delivery of a particular requirement.

Responsibility is given a different connotation from accountability by Hoyle and John. It is conceptualised being as a broader principle. To accept the need for, and to respond to, the process of accountability is to be responsible. Hoyle and John (1995:104) state that::

"Responsibility entails a more voluntaristic commitment to a set of principles governing a good practice, and the realisation of these through day-to-day professional activities."

They further state that these principles include among other things the recognition and compliance with the requirements of accountability, but responsibility reaches the parts which accountability cannot always reach since they are more fundamental. And, because they are more fundamental, at times they could be in conflict with the governmental requirements of accountability. Responsibility is the reciprocal of autonomy. Autonomy must be exercised with responsibility. This means that the practitioners must ultimately be guided by a set of values which place a premium on

client interest. Responsibility has to do with where a teacher has to make decisions and exercise judgement.

Responsibility may be exercised independently of accountability. This comes about without the costly, draconian and ultimately self-defeating sets of surveillance and reporting procedures. Much of a teacher's work is beyond the scope of accountability. Teachers must be expected to be responsible even when the chances of being held to account are slim. Hoyle and John (1995:112) state that:

> "...responsibility encompasses but transcends accountability because choice and judgement are necessary. They can be equated only if accountability is in large measure collegial accountability... Responsibility cannot be wholly pre-ordained... Responsibility is essentially contingent because it entails making judgements in changing situations and resolving conflicts by making choice in one direction rather than another."

Pateman (1978:61) says:

> "As for accountability, this is a concept distinct from that of responsibility..."

and goes on to make a distinction between accountability and responsibility, by referring to Mary Warnock's (1977) work in different context, as follows:

> "Accountability of an institution to another institution with legal or quasi-legal authority over it is contrasted with accountability which an institution may owe or feels it owes to those it affects, but where those affected do not, directly, exercise authority over it. The first is considered as accountability while the latter is considered as responsibility."

Kogan (1986:26) uses the restricted definition of accountability which he acknowledges and states:

> "...accountability assumes institutional authority to call an individual or a group to account for their actions."

He goes on to contrast it with responsibility and says:

> "It is to be contrasted with responsibility which is the moral sense of duty to perform appropriately."

According to Kogan, responsibility need not evoke the duty to answer in any legal way or contractual settings, that is to act accountably.

McCormick (1982:27) gives various forms of accountability:

Contractual accountability-accountability in the strict sense to one's employer or political master. Moral accountability-answerability to one's clients; Professional accountability-responsibility to oneself and one's colleagues. Of the three facets of accountability given by McCormick, 'responsibility' seems to be a mix of moral accountability which is answerability to one's clients and professional accountability which also includes responsibility to oneself.

The Collins Cobuild English language Dictionary (pg. 1235) gives the following as one of the meanings of responsibility:

> "The ability to behave properly and to make the right decisions without needing to be watched or controlled by someone else...The right or opportunity to make important decisions or to take action without permission from anyone else."

The distinction between accountability and responsibility, although the investigator was aware of the relevant literature, was not incorporated into the interviews, it has nevertheless been valuable in the post-factum interpretation of the data. 'Responsibility', as the respondents' key term-in-use, (Argyris and Schon, 1974), incorporates both responsibility and accountability as distinguished in the literature referred to above. The term as used by respondents appears to cover:

a) Meeting formal accountability procedures, expressed as follows by some respondents:

"...Teachers and school systems in general should work in response to the policy of the various hierarchies." (adm1)

"...If they do not adhere to the policy of the government they will be at risk. To secure their jobs they have to adhere." (adm11)

"Yes. [Because] it is not possible to teach everything. So the government has given specific topics which are to be covered within a given time at a given level." (gst14)

b) Conformity to professional ethics beyond accountability, as expressed below by some respondents:

"Well, I think so. There is a general framework, general policy. Based on that policy, of course, they have to have their professional rights." (adm1)

"...Yes because they know the text, they know the subject matter more than the students, more than the parents, and probably even more than the administrators because they (administrators] are at the remote level. These teachers are the ones that encounter the issue of the students each day...they have to have important place in determining the teaching methods and the way of presenting the lessons..." (adm8)

"...They should have [freedom] because it is their profession...organize it to fit their situation...the environment in which they are living." (cst2)

"Sure. Because this is part and parcel of their academic right or academic freedom. All teachers are not expected to apply the same formula...it varies from teacher to teacher." (gst2)

"Yes...he [teacher] has to use his creativity." (csp1)

c) Responding to one's own conscience-which is in some instances related to religious beliefs as reflected by the following comments given by some of the respondents.

" ...After my conscience which is in a sense my God, you know I am kind of on my conscience I'm saying I'm accountable to God and the things I have learned God expects of me in my life..." (cst8)

In responding to the question put to this respondent for further clarification which stated 'You say one's conscience is directed by God?' The response was:

"For me anyway." (cst8)

"Yes because he {teacher] has to do moral things any time. Personality and morality require accountability to own conscience..." (gst15)

"...teacher should also be accountable to God." (gst6)

As there appear to be no empirical studies which seek to establish whether teachers and other educationists can a make a conceptual distinction between accountability and responsibility, the investigator is not in a position to compare educators in Ethiopia with those in other countries with respect to this. However, as the distinctions made above may have policy implications it is perhaps worthwhile exploring further.

It is perhaps unsurprising that the emphasis in the responses has been rather more on responsibility than accountability because of historical/cultural reasons. Historical/cultural reasons may also account for the emphasis on the conscience. In exploring this further we can draw upon another source of data namely responses to the implicit question I.6 'At the end of the day, should teachers be responsible only to their own conscienc? Please elaborate your response' and the explicit question II.c4 'Should teachers be accountable to their own conscience? How? to what extent?'.

The response to the implicit question dealing with 'responsibility to one's own conscience only' received low positive response: Administrators 16.3%, principals 33.3% and teachers 26% indicating that teachers should not be responsible 'only' to their own conscience but should take into consideration the government policies, regulations and directives; desires of the parents and needs of the students.

The explicit question dealing with 'accountability to one's own conscience' received high positive responses: Administrators 58%, principals 100% and teachers 91.3% indicating that the respondents agree that teachers should be accountable to their own conscience.

There is a marked difference in the responses to the implicit and explicit questions as indicated above. This is so because the implicit question asks for responsibility 'only' to one's own conscience while the explicit question asks if teachers should be accountable to their own conscience. The word 'only' in the implicit question made the respondents to cast their responses in the 'qualified yes' or 'qualified no' category (which are the same in content as discussed in the data presentation section) indicating that the respondents agree that teachers should be responsible or accountable to their own conscience but also should take into account the concerns of significant others.

Interpretation of the interview material suggested that the conceptualization of accountability was a key issue. The main points to emerge in relation to the issue can be summarised as follows.

1) Respondents from none of the groups gave either a technical or a semi-technical definition of accountability in terms of the western literature.

2) Interviewees in each category responded to the question about their understanding of 'accountability' by using 'responsibility' as a synonym and developing their awareness from this.

3) Responsibility was used to cover a range of ideas from formal accountability procedures, through ethical values to fundamental beliefs.

4) Teachers and principal respondents were far more likely than the administrators to claim that teachers should be accountable to their own conscience as well as to others, for their professional activities.

These findings have implications for policy which will be discussed in Chapter Five but can be briefly noted here. The major policy implication largely relates to the degree to which government seeks to enhance the quality of education through putting in place specific accountability procedures balanced by the inculcation of, and provision of support for, professional and personal responsibility. In relation to accountability a further set of issues arises over appropriate procedures. In relation to responsibility a set of issues arises over initial teacher education and the culture of schools.

4.2.1 Accountability and Expectations of the Teacher's Role

The previous section explored the issue of whether educationist in Ethiopia had an explicit concept of accountability. The data indicated that although respondents tended not to have a concept of accountability in any explicit sense they had an implicit notion of which they expressed in terms of broad-ranging notion of 'responsibility' to various stakeholders as well as to their own conscience. In this section we take the discussion further by exploring the degree to which respondents felt that teachers should be accountable/responsible to various stakeholders which, because the discussion will be informed to some extent by role theory, we can term the 'role set' (Merton, 1966) of teachers. The main components of the teacher's role set can be represented as follows:

Diagram 4.1

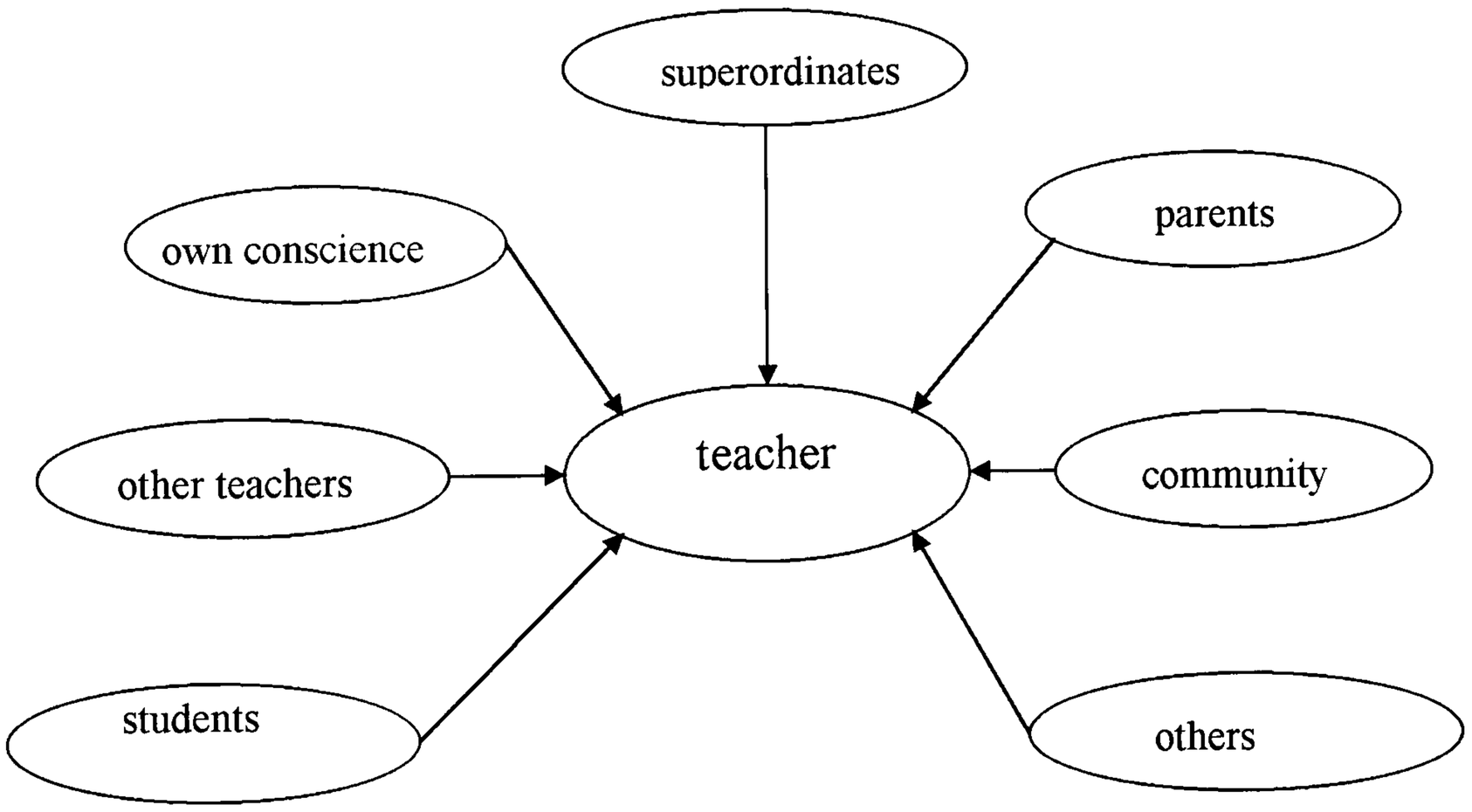


Diagram showing the main components of the the teacher's role set as indicated by respondents.

The section reports data generated by the interview materials on the extent to which the three groups felt that teachers should be accountable to the components of the teachers' role sets and documentary materials from MoE and the conflicts which might arise. It should be noted that the discussion below interprets separately the respondents' views on the accountability of teachers to each of the main components of the teachers' role set. They were not asked to put the perceived relative importance of each component of the role set in rank order for two reasons. One is that such a ranking exercise was incompatible with the chosen methodology. Ranking is not easily achieved through interviews. The other is that a ranking exercise would have pushed respondents into making choices which they might not otherwise have made.

Teachers' Accountability to Parents

The most obvious point emerging from the data relating to the perception of teachers' accountability to parents is the very strong positive response of all groups of respondents to the implicit and explicit questions but that a greater degree of ambivalence was revealed by further questioning.

To the implicit question: 'Should teachers be ready to listen to parents opinion?'

The positive responses were: administrators 100%, principals 89%, and teachers 96%.

And to the explicit question: 'Should teachers be accountable to parents?' The positive responses were: administrators 83%, principals 56%, and teachers 74%.

The reasons given in reply to the immediate follow-up questions were rather diffuse and turned largely on a far stronger bond which exists between parent and child than between teacher and child. Some typical responses are as follows.

" Parents are the ones who brought the children into the world, have the right to guide the children in the way that they [parents] think is best..." (cst7)

"...they [parents] should have a say because their children are their-everything. Parents wish to give every good thing to their children and education is one of the most important things in life. The best thing which parents should give to their children is education, on this they have to have the best say..." (csp1)

"Because parents are parents...presumably they are the ones who love them the most...; they are the ones who, under God, have been given the responsibility to train up those children to be good citizens of an earthly nation and the heavenly realm." (cst7)

"They [teachers] have to get feedback; they have to get background of the students from the parents." (adm4)

As the interviews proceeded, the initial diffuseness of responses was modified. This turned largely on the lack of expertise of the parents compared with teachers and those who make educational policy and the practicalities of accountability. Thus the rights of parents were recognized but in practical terms, since the majority of parents are illiterate or otherwise have little expertise in educational matters, a strong influence of parents on educationists was not seen as feasible.

"Except for the competency of the parents they could be involved in all aspects of education but now they are only involved in discipline matters." (adm1)

Another respondent says:

"...not actually in what they [students] learn...how they should be disciplined." (csp2)

Another respondent has reservations because parents might make unrealistic demands on the teacher:

"...Some parents make demands that are unrealistic...and, I think, to say that the teacher must always be accountable to the parents might bring great hardship on some well meaning teachers..." (cst7)

The other reason given for respondents' reservations is the fear that the situation would prove to be chaotic if each parent individually demanded accountability from teachers.

"Yes, they [parents] should have a say in an organized [manner]..." (adm9)

According to other respondents, in the majority of cases, parents leave school matters to the teachers which they expressed as follows:

"Parents do not follow their students [children]...there is no connection between parents and the teachers..." (gsp4)

"We do not see parents coming and asking about their children. They should ...come and ask...work with us help us in home works also." (cst3)

These responses suggest that there is a considerable ambiguity in teachers' relationship with parents. The underlying position of the educationists could perhaps be that teachers would be 'responsible' to parents but that teachers' 'accountability' to parents remains very problematic because of the present lack of parental expertise, mechanisms of accountability and the interests of other stakeholders. Thus there is the problem of conflict between role expectations which is common to many systems. This will be discussed at a later point.

Teachers' Accountability to Students

In considering opinions on teachers' accountability to students two points need to be kept in mind. One is that Ethiopia has no tradition of teachers regarding themselves as

being accountable to students, only of feeling responsible for them. The second point is that, nevertheless, student evaluation constitutes 25 percent of the New Evaluation Scheme-discussion of which is deferred until later. These two conflicting factors will have shaped the responses of interviewees but it is not possible to identify in what ways. It would seem that not withstanding the New Evaluation Scheme, respondents generally saw the teachers' role more in terms of responsibility for, rather than accountability to, students. In response to the explicit question: 'Should teachers be accountable to students?' the positive responses of the three sets of interviewees can be summarized as follows: administrators 83%, principals 78%, and teachers 83%. However, further questioning made it very clear that respondents did not have in mind here formal accountability procedures. The following statements reflect the mode of accountability the respondents think should exist between teachers and students:

" Yes, teachers are accountable to students because when students listen to their teachers, when they receive lessons from their teachers they trust them; they trust that the teacher is teaching them right and when they trust that teachers are leading them in the right direction...teachers are accountable to their students." (adm9)

"...Direct accountability cannot exist...because the ethics does not allow. students are students..." (adm4)

"Yes, ...because the students rely on the teachers as source for learning." (adm3)

"In some way they [teachers] should...If you think of accountability in terms of they [students] have some say over our action, then I do not think the students do. If you are thinking of accountability in that they [students] have right to expect things from us [teachers], yes I think they do. (cst8)

"...but not in respect that the student is higher than the teacher who makes certain demands and the teacher must follow. I do not think of accountability in that sense." (cst7)

Each of the three sets of respondents indicated strongly, but not very srongly, that teachers had a high degree of responsibility for the general welfare of students. The responses can be summarized as follows: administrators 67%, principals 78%, and teachers 100%. What is perhaps surprising here is that the responses of the administrators and principals were not more positive on this question of general responsibility. However, further comments emerging from the interviews indicated a strong sense of responsibility towards students. Some typical comments are as follows:

"Yes, they [students] are in my hands, they are given to me. I have to help them in any way I can...I have to be their good friend." (cst3)

"Yes, like mother and father. So as a counsellor, one who gives advice and one who commends when a student does well as well as reprimands when the student needs correction..." (cst7)

"Yes, a teacher is the academic parent of the students, advises and helps...psychological and material help can be given by the teacher." (gst10)

Another point which came out strongly in the interviews with respondents in each of the categories was that responsibility should not rest with teachers alone. They agree that teachers should have some responsibility, the ultimate responsibility should be shared with other groups such as parents, community, society and the government as well as the students themselves. The respondents felt that it should be a collective responsibility; a joint responsibility of and a collaborative effort by all the parties aforementioned. The following statements reflect the majority of the feeling:

"Not only of the teacher. It should be of the teacher and the parents as well." (cst4)

"...Ultimately the child's responsibility but they are children...we are supposed to help them learn how to learn..." (cst8)

"Yes, but not only the teacher...there are other influences as the students,...the parents, the community in which they spend most of their time, their recreation centres, the media..., of course, the decisive role or the main role is played by the teacher." (csp1)

"Not only of the teachers. It should be of the whole system...teachers have high level of share...teachers should not be the only body, the government, the MoE, the Regional education bureaux, the zonal education offices, Woreda (district) education offices directors and all support groups are expected to participate." (adm6)

"Not necessarily the responsibility of the teacher...but the community, the parents and the nation and the government...everybody; there should be the collaboration of the nation as a whole. It is shared responsibility." (adm7)

It is clear that there was some confusion about the accountability/responsibility of teachers to students with, notwithstanding the New Evaluation Scheme, respondents having no clear concept of how teachers might be accountable to, rather than responsible for, students.

Teachers' Accountability to Superordinates

It is perhaps not surprising that in considering teachers' accountability to their superordinates - amongst whom are included principals, supervisors/inspectors, 'government' as represented by written policies and requirements-opinions are based more on procedural concept of accountability rather than on the more diffuse notion of responsibility. Responses to the implicit question 'should what teachers do from day to day reflect the policy of the head?' were as follows: administrators 58%, principals 44%, and teachers 70%. The majority of the respondents felt that principals should not have policies of their own but should reflect the policy of the government. The principals did not feel that teachers should strictly follow their guidelines in their

[teachers'] day to day activities. The teachers seemed to be more positive than the principals and the administrators. They question the principals' having their own policy. The following comments reflect their thinking:

"...Do headteachers have their own policy? They do not have because the policy is government policy in the schools...simply directors cannot have personal policies at the school level." (adm6)

"Well, as such the school head or principal does not have his own policy. It is the policy of the government...So, not only the teachers but the head should also reflect." (adm4)

"...as far as policy is concerned, in this country policy is central policy where the director [head] has to elaborate in the school...As far as teachers are concerned, obviously, particularly in state schools, they are expected to respond to the policy and work according to the policy. The head of the institution [school] will reflect the policy of the government in general" (adm1)

"...The principals should not have the policy of their own." (adm8)

Regarding the second implicit question in this category 'Should teacher's practice follow the directions laid down by the government?' The responses were: administrators 50%, principals 78%, and teachers 91%. In general, the majority of the respondents were of the opinion that teachers' practice should follow the directions laid down by the government and the following comments reflect this view.

"...Policy is from the central government and the teachers and all the educational system had to follow...Teachers and school systems in general should work in response to the policy of the various hierarchies." (adm1)

"Of course they [teachers] have to. As civil servants they have to obey the rules and the regulations of the nation." (gst3)

Some respondents, mainly the administrators, think that for various reasons it would be difficult to require teachers to strictly follow the guidelines given by the government as could be seen from the following comments.

"Sometimes the situation makes it viable. If the actual situation is not good enough to implement it [policy]...I think they have to go side by side with the situation of the community and the environment [the actual context has to be taken into consideration]" (adm7)

"In my opinion not strictly...teaching is classified as an art..." (gsp2)

"No, the teaching profession should be free. The teaching man [person] should not be led by others as educational views are different from political views." (gst15)

The teachers' responses were more positive than the principals' and even more so than the administrators'. It seemed that the administrators were thinking in terms of decentralization while the teachers were still thinking in terms of highly centralized practices to which they had been subjected. The policy of decentralization has apparently not disseminated to any great extent.

Regarding the explicit question 'should teachers be accountable to heads?', the responses were: administrators 83%, principals 100%, and teachers 100%. The great majority of the respondents seemed to agree in thier responses to this question. The following expressions by some of the respondents reflect the views of the majority.

"Obviously yes, particularly in executing the policy, the educational policy of the country." (adm1)

"Yes, they have to be because the system does not stay by itself...there should be a leader and a guide...where you get guidelines and where you have evaluation..." (cst2)

"Yes, because the heads are there to check the progress of the teacher from time to time" (gst3)

Regarding the second explicit question in this category, 'Should teachers be accountable to government inspectors?' the responses were: administrators 67%, principals 56%, and teachers 78%. Majority of the respondents agreed to the accountability of teachers to government inspectors and expressed their views as follows:

"...the inspector is an overall supervisor...His [inspector's] responsibility will ask [require] the accountability of the teachers." (adm5)

"That is quite obvious...inspectors are who are...implementing the government [educational] policy..." (adm7)

Their experience of the highly centralized tradition in Ethiopia clearly shaped respondents' view of accountability. One can perhaps summarize the general position as one of teachers being accountable to the principal who, in turn, was expected to implement the policies of the central government. However, there is also a recognition that there can be no cast-iron link between policy and practice and teachers would of necessity need to take account of local and classroom circumstances. However, the relationship between external control and professional autonomy was not explicitly made, except in one case were an interviewee had the following to say in response to the implicit question: 'Should a teacher's practice follow the directions laid down by the government?'

"No, because the teaching profession should be free. The teaching man [person] should not be led by others as educational views are different from political views." (gst15)

It is important to point out that the reasons for this unique response are embodied in the response itself.

Teachers' Accountability to Community

In asking about the perceived expectation of community leaders as a component of the teacher's role set no definition of 'community' was given to the respondents since such a definition would be quite complex in relation to an urban area though straightforward in rural districts. Thus the respondents would be employing their own concept in their responses. Responses to the two questions about the community can be summarized as follows.

Responses to the implicit question: 'Should teachers seek the opinion of community leaders?' Positive responses were given: administrators 100%, principals 67 %, and teachers 78%. Some of the reasons given by respondent are indicated below:

"Yes,... first of all the culture of the country has to be reflected in the school, and the school has to utilize the cultural and social resources of the community to educate the children. The school should not be an island in the community...There must be a continuous dialogue..." (adm1)

"Yes, it has to be in an strategic way...If we are expecting the rural farmer to speak the language of education, that is unrealistic...there are ways of extracting information..." (adm1)

"...I would say very much, although this is not a very common practice here...for relevant education, for quality of education and for support from the community..." (adm3)

However, there were respondents who had reservations with regard to seeking opinion from the community leaders because of perceived expectations that the community did

not have much to offer when it came to learning and teaching because of their own lack of education. The following comments represent these views:

"Not necessarily. Community leaders are not that much, you know, educated...All ideas that you seek from them may not be as important as expected for the learning and teaching process..." (gst1)

And to the explicit question: 'Should teachers be accountable to the community?' Positive responses were given as follows: administrators 92%, principals 89 %, and teachers 96 %. Some of their responses are indicated below:

"...There should be a feedback from the community to the teacher..." (cst2)

"...Teachers should be accountable to the community because they [teachers] have to be good example to the community. If the teacher goes against the interest of the community, the belief, against the culture, against the norm, in that particular community he will not be accepted..." (adm2)

"Yes, because they are teaching the children of the community." (adm3)

Consideration of the responses revealed that the respondents recognized the right of the community, in the same manner that they recognized the right of parents, and did not feel that teachers should be accountable to the community in a formal or contractual manner. Rather, the feeling was that teachers should feel responsible to the community.

Some respondents, especially the teachers, expressed the view that the community was not giving them due respect and status which negatively affected the self image of the teachers. Though this view was expressed by the minority of teachers, nevertheless, it points to a crucial matter. This being the low salary paid teachers, which has an impact

on the degree of respect teachers command from the community/society which , in turn, has an effect on the morale of teachers with, perhaps, negative consequences for the teaching/learning process and the quality of education. The following statements reflect the feeling.

" Yes, they [community] should know that I am a teacher...I will be satisfied when they help me, when they give me a place, give me the position or respect...Even they [community] do not consider us [teachers] members of the community...they give us low status. That is a problem." (cst3)

"...The teachers are not so much associated to the parents there is a barrier, social barrier...in our society the lives of the teachers were deteriorated; in the previous society the teachers did not have acceptance in the society, neglected in the society,. A simple health assistant or a simple policeman [with less education] is more acceptable in the society than a teacher who holds a Bachelors degree..." (gst10)

"...the teachers' salary was very, very small, as we all know. Nowadays a little bit increased. The teachers do not have house [house of their own] to live in...house to ... then the money is not enough to cover his food, his children's' [expenses], house rent-all these things. Now because of these things the morale of the teachers fails completely..." (gst2)

Teachers' Accountability to Other Teachers

In considering the accountability of teachers to 'other teachers' as components of teachers' role set the responses of the respondents to both the implicit and explicit questions were very positive as indicated below:

To the implicit question: 'Should teachers discuss with each other about instructional improvement?' The positive responses were: administrators 92 %, principals 100%, and teachers !00%.

To the explicit question: 'Should teachers be accountable to other teachers?' The positive responses were: administrators 75%, principals 89%, and teachers 91%.

The following comments reflect some of the thinking :

"Well, I think this goes without saying because teaching is a team work. One teacher alone can never produce a student.." (adm3)

"Yes...sort of action research..." (adm6)

"... sharing experience...developing collegial leadership in the school environment is very essential...Human relationship will have a major role in the working environment...not only the improvement of the teaching-learning method, social affinity will also have its own impact within the educational environment." (adm7)

"Yes, they [teachers] should discuss with each other about... problems encountered in the teaching-learning process...It is important that they discuss together in order to qualify [improve] the principles [methods of teaching]." (cst4)

"Yes...the creativity of one person will not be enough When different teachers with different talents, with different abilities, with different knowledge, experience...can create...different methods..." (csp1)

Consideration of the three categories of responses revealed that respondents were of the opinion that teachers should have a mutual, helpful relationship, encouraging each other for the purposes of improving their services. The responses did not, in any way, suggest that there should exist formal accountability relationship between teachers. The responses suggested, rather, the responsibility of teachers to each other in a collegial sense.

Teachers' Accountability to Other Teachers' Role Sets

Some of the respondents gave other constituencies to which teachers' should be accountable /responsible which include the following: Mass media; non-teaching staff; environment; families of the teachers; and God.

The issue considered in this section was the accountability of teachers to different components of their role set. As indicated at the beginning of the section, respondents were not asked to give a rank order of accountability to different components of the role set since this would impose on the respondents a task which would be outside their normal experience. In any case, a ranking exercise would only be meaningful if respondents were asked to rank according to different aspects of teachers' activities.

This section deals largely, though a hard and fast distinction could not be made, with a group 'to whom' teachers are seen to be accountable rather than 'for what' they should be accountable. That discussion occurs below. Although there are variations between the three set of respondents, each set expressed the need for teachers to be accountable to the major group of stakeholders. Supplementary questions revealed degrees of uncertainty about the nature of accountability. As might be expected from the points discussed in the previous sections responses varied from a focus on accountability to a focus on responsibility.

Responsibility was uppermost in relation to parents and students since neither group was seen as being sophisticated and a more paternal, diffuse form of responsibility was implicit in the responses. It was in relation to these groups that the response of being accountable to one's own conscience was invoked. Accountability as currently defined

informed the answers of the respondents only in relation to those in authority over teachers. Yet, even here it was generally recognized that teachers' autonomy and the dictates of their own conscience had a place.

4.2.2 What Should Teachers be Accountable for?

The respondents' responses to the question relating to the teachers' role set are so interlinked with their responses to the question 'What should teachers be accountable for?,' that it seems logical to deal with their responses to this latter open-ended question at this juncture. The respondents' perceptions generated by the above open-ended question will be dealt with , below, separately for each group.

Administrators' Responses

Some of the typical comments reflecting the administrators' perceptions are given as follows. Before their comments are give though, one point needs to be made about the administrators. That is that all of them had once been teachers and therefore seem to be familiar with a teachers' role.

"...for the welfare of the child..." (adm1)

"...for welfare of the children... their academic activities." (adm11)

"Responsible to shape the child entrusted to them by the community." (adm10)

"...for curriculum implementation..." (adm1)

"For duties and obligations given to them by MoE" (adm4)

"...for daily activity in relation to the school." (adm1)

"for preparation of lesson plan" (adm2)

"...for professional code of ethics..." (adm1)

"...for interests of students..." (adm2)

"...erect derogatory directives...give feedback...give suggestions, ideas on the improvement of directives and policies..." (adm5)

"...[for] well preparedness..." (adm8)

"...address society's needs, build up future citizens...for themselves also." (adm7)

"...for imparting relevant knowledge at the level they are assigned to... prepare himself to teach...has to do action research." (adm6)

One comment needs to be highlighted in the responses of the administrators. That is, it seems that, at least, administrators are predisposed to getting feedback from practitioners to improve policy.

Principals' Responses

The following are some of the statements made by the principals:

"...teachers are responsible for instructional aspects...for what goes on in the classroom as well as in [school] compound...when children get sick they have to report...when they fail their academic work they have to report..." (gsp1)

"...for up bringing the students...for punctuality to enter class" (gsp4)

"...for educational outcomes...for proper teaching..." (csp1)

"...for rules and regulation of the school...for teaching process, for discipline." (csp2)

"...for the norms and ways of living in the society." (csp4)

"...for integrity and unity among other teachers..." (cst4)

"...for making good use of time..." (csp3)

"...implement the curriculum... " (csp1)

Teachers' Responses

Here are some of the responses given by teachers:

"for the education system, for the teaching/learning activity,... communicate with the students, for acting properly [e.g. talking, walking] in front of the students." (cst1)

"...for what they are there to do, for the lesson, for the discipline, for their approach. " (cst2)

"...For teaching subject in good manner" (gst13)

"...for their contribution to the society" (gst14)

"...for bringing up children in all aspects, in all things, in academic and social activities" (gst11)

"...for effectively passing [on] to the children what they have in mind." (gst1)

"...for the portion of the subject they teach...for shaping or reshaping of their children's' [students'] behaviour " (gst12)

"... help the students to behave in good manner.. "for adjust[ing] themselves to the community..." (cst5)

"to help the kids, to educate them, for their development, for their good conduct, for their good learning." (cst3)

"...for knowing well the subject matter...to communicate effectively." (cst7)

"...for well up bringing of children, especially academically; for well moulding; for well teaching." (gst3)

"...for the conduct of the student in the classroom; for preparation in teaching

their subjects; for how they evaluate the students; for their own conduct, behaviour inside and outside the class; for the relationship with other teachers." (cst8)

"...put into practice what is said by the head; for the curriculum; for the growth of the student" (cst6)

"...for their [own] personality, for their relationship with the community, for their relationship with the director [principal], for their relationship with the administration, for student and school relationship" (cst4)

In sum, responses of the three categories of respondents to the open-ended question seeking their perceptions for what teachers should be accountable are very much similar and are mainly concerned with the implementation of the curriculum, government regulations pertinent to their work, student welfare and discipline, making necessary preparations for effective teaching, school and community relations, relations with other teachers etc.

Discussion

Teachers have a large role set including parents, students, community members, other educationists etc. This means not only that there is wide set of expectations attaching to the teaching role but that there may be conflicts between the expectations of different components, e.g between parents and administrators and also 'within' each of the components, e.g different parents may have different expectations of the teacher.

An ironic comment on this by Macdonald (1970:16) is quoted by Hoyle and John (1995:114)

"Teachers are invited to refer themselves to an omnicapable model, at once intelligent and affectively warm, knowledgeable and tolerant, articulate and patient, efficient and gentle, morally committed and sympathetic, scholarly and practical, socially conscious and dedicated to personal development, fearless and responsible. They are told that they must be specialists in an academic discipline, masters of the techniques of presentation, adept class managers, artful motivators, skilful diagnosticians, ingenious remedial workers, imaginative curriculum designers, eager enquirers, efficient administrators, helpful colleagues, widely interested citizens, and loving human beings (the last being a new and very modish injunction). This rush of adjectives, so much in play when educators talk about teaching, can be summarized in a single phrase: teachers are, or ought to be, secular priests."

For teachers to attempt to respond to all these expectations can potentially lead to two problems. One is 'role conflict'. The form of role conflict which is relevant here occurs when the expectations of the teacher held by different components of the role set are incompatible. It may also occur when different groups 'within' a role set hold different expectations. Teachers may personally experience role conflict and this has happened in Ethiopia in the recent past as noted below. Or the expectation may be so diverse and diffuse that teachers can ignore them responding only to the more immediate and authoritative expectations of, say, the principal.

A second problem is that of 'role overload' which can occur if a teacher seeks to meet too many expectations-or is required to meet them by, say, the government.

There is currently much written in the western literature about the role overload and related work stress of teachers.

An effective accountability policy will seek to avoid these problems by specifiying the expectations which a teacher should meet and the criteria by which they would be judged. These expectations and associated procedures would be realitic. There would

be other, probably more diffuse expectations, which would remain a matter of teacher responsibility.

The responses to the questions 'to whom' and 'for what' should teachers be accountable are so interlinked that the question of conflict that might arise from the expectations of teachers' role set and that might arise from the overload of what teachers should be responsible for are addressed together in the following sections.

Conflict in teachers' accountability to parents

Government policy makes it legitimate (gives it the status of contractual accountability) that teachers be accountable to parents as discussed in the section entitled ' Accountability and the National Evaluation Scheme' Parents evaluate teachers and the result of their evaluation (15% of the total) is used as one of the determining factors for the promotion of teachers which also has implications for their salary. On the other hand, the kind of accountability the majority of the respondents seem to advocate for that teachers should have for parents is what Becher, Eraut et al. (1979) cited in McCormick (1982:27), discussed elsewhere, refer to as 'answerability to one's client' or moral accountability'. The following expression expresses this view:

"Yes they [teachers] have to be accountable to parents, because when parents bring and leave their children in the school compound they have trusted ...put their belief that teachers would do something useful to these children..." (adm3.)

This view expects teachers to live up to the trust of the parents who bring their children and entrust them into their care. The policy provision is for elements that serve as the basis for the 'strict' or 'contractual' accountability. Thus, there is a conflict

in the kind of relationship that should exist between the teachers and the parents. The policy provision is not the same as what the respondents feel the relationship should be. The policy provides for the basis of contractual accountability model while the respondents feel that the relationship should be based on trust and that teachers should have moral accountability to the parents.

Conflict in teachers' accountability to students

There is a conflict in the kind of relationship that the respondents think should exist between teachers and students and the provision of the new educational accountability scheme with respect to this. The new National Accountability Scheme has legitimised the evaluation of teachers by various group including students. The students' evaluation results constitute 25% of the total evaluation which determines the promotion of the teachers and thus has implications for their salaries. It provides the basis for contractual accountability while what the respondents think should exist is moral accountability.

Conflict between teachers' accountability to superordinates and his/her own conscience

Superordinates: (In this research superordinates include principal, supervisor/inspector and government).

As discussed in section 4.1, the concept of 'responsibility' to one's own conscience, which sometimes included religious beliefs, was considered fundamental in the lives of

these teachers. However, despite this fundamental principle, teachers are expected to, and do, adhere to government policies, though the policies could be contradictory to the beliefs of the teacher as was the case during the Marxist era in Ethiopia.

It is important that teachers are held accountable for the resources committed to them and for the children entrusted into their care. And Sockett (1980:13-14), correctly, argues that the teacher should be the unit of accountability for the purpose of internal accountability.

The respondents, including the teachers themselves, stated that teachers are the 'second level parents'. This means that teachers understand their responsibilities regarding the welfare of the child entrusted to them by the parents. None of the respondents objected to the teacher being the unit of accountability.

The elements listed that can serve as a basis for accountability for teachers (responses to the open-ended question, responses to the implicit and explicit questions as well as the whole range of activities indicated in the various government documents) are considerable. Some of these expectations are incompatible. This, as discussed above with regard to accountability to parents, students and to superordinates and own conscience, theoretically suggests a conflict of role expectation amongst teachers. But to what extent do teachers feel this conflict and how do they resolve it? For the most part they probably neither feel the conflict in any acute way or need to resolve it. It is solved for them by government expectations as officially codified. The following statements by some of the respondents affirms this.

"...as far as teachers are concerned,...,obviously,...they are expected to respond to the policy and work according to the policy..." (adm1)

"Of course they [teachers] have to. As civil servants they have to obey the rules and regulations of the nation." (gst3)

This means if there is any expectation from the teachers' role set that is in conflict with the expectation of the government, the government's expectation overrides all the other expectations. That way the conflict is resolved. But accountability procedures cannot solve all conflicts in expectations. Therefore, teachers must exercise responsibility in balancing the expectations of all groups.

The implications which follow from the data are that government committed to holding teachers accountable for their activities must consider a number of issues. These include:

1) By what means might teachers be accountable to the various groups of stakeholders.

2) How a balance might be struck between accountability to the various stakeholders since expectations may be extensive and conflicting.

3) To what extent teachers might be granted a degree of autonomy and how they might be encouraged to exercise this autonomy responsibly in the interest of the stakeholders.

These implications will be considered along with others in Chapter 5.

4.3 Accountability and the National Evaluation Scheme

Only one brief reference has been made in the preceding sections in this chapter to the fact that there is in existence a national scheme of accountability/evaluation explicitly focused on teacher performance. The absence of detailed reference to the National Evaluation Scheme in the interview material indicates that it impinged very little on the freely-given responses of interviewees regarding accountability. In this section we therefore focus directly upon the scheme and particularly on respondents' knowledge of the scheme and their views on the degree to which it has been implemented. It is first necessary, drawing upon official documents, briefly to outline the scheme.

The new National Evaluation Scheme

The Education and Training Policy issued by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia in April 1994 provides the basis for the provision of the Career Structure. Section 3.4.7 states that: "*A professional career structure will be developed in respect to professional development of teachers.*" According to the career structure, six stages on career ladder are created depending on the ability and years of teaching experience. These are: (investigator's translation)

i) Beginner Teacher, ii) Junior Teacher, iii) Teacher, iv) Senior Teacher, v) Associate Headteacher, and vi) Headteacher.

The Career Structure and the new salary scale

(see Appendix V for this section)

According to the Career Structure Implementation Guidebook (March, 1996: pg. 2 & 4), the promotion from one stage to the next on the ladder is based on the outcome of performance evaluation. Competent teachers who fulfil the requirement will be promoted to the next higher level. The evaluation of the teachers performance in schools will be carried out by three groups whose evaluation accounts for the indicated percentages (investigators translation):

1) School administration and staff 60%

2) Students 25%

3) Parents/community 15%.

Job performance comprises 80%, while relevant experience comprises 20% of the evaluation.

Section 8.1.1. (Career Structure Guidebook No.2 , June, 1995, p. 34) indicates 3.45 as a minimum point required for promotion with regards to performance evaluation. Section 8.1.2 (ibid) gives points for the relevant experiences that comprise 20% of the evaluation points. Every relevant year of experience is given 1.25 points (See Appendix V for details.). The monthly Salaries and salary increments are determined by the position a teacher occupies on the career structure. The starting salary, increments, number of years of service required and the ceiling for each stage as well as the overall minimum percentage required for promotion from one stage to the next higher stage are given in Appendix V.

In order to get promotion from one stage to the next higher level teachers are supposed to be evaluated on the basis of the following major parameters according to Befekadu G/Tsadick cited in Abinet Amare (1996:46), who summarises it well as follows.

Teaching-learning effectiveness and efficiency based on teacher performance;
Ability to evaluate the curricula materials at school level and adopt it to local needs;
Ability to give support and evaluate students' behavioural change;
Relationship and co-operation with school community;
Relationship with parents and role in the community;
Diligence to improve his/her profession as well as willingness to share experience with others.

The new career structure is expected, if properly implemented, to improve the economic and social status of those teachers and also attract able students to the teaching profession which will ultimately improve the quality of education. (ibid.)

Before proceeding with the presentation of the responses of interviewees, it is necessary to comment again on the conceptual problems entailed. One basic methodological problem is that although the dissertation is seeking the views of various groups of participants on educational accountability, the respondents generally do not have in their professional vocabularies the concepts which are widely used in the western literature for discussing these issues. As an alternative to seeking and working entirely with the constructs which respondents traditionally use-if at all-when discussing issues of accountability we have introduced the concepts used in the west as a starting point in interviews on accountability issues. This raises many problems. One problem which arises in relation to the discussion of the National Evaluation Scheme is the lack of clarity in the distinction between the concept of 'accountability' and 'evaluation'. It is hardly surprising that respondents in the study have difficulty since the distinction is far from clear in the western literature.

In discussing about the relationship between 'Accountability' and 'Evaluation' Williams writes as follows:

"... the concept of accountability itself implies the necessity for evaluation, since if there were no valid ways to evaluate the performance of the pupil, the teacher or the school, there would seem to be little possibility of the notion of accountability being translated into practice."
(Williams 1981:70)

In Kogan's definition of accountability, given below, the phrase 'liable to review' preceding 'the application of sanctions' indicates that some sort of evaluation has to take place before the individual is called to account.

"a condition in which individual role holders are liable to review and the application of sanctions if their actions fail to satisfy those with whom they are in an accountability relationship" Kogan (1986:25)

That accountability and evaluation are closely interrelated is also affirmed by MacDonald (1979:35), and Becher (1979:63). Becher (ibid.) states that the relationships are not symmetrical, that is to say that accountability presupposes evaluation but evaluation does not necessarily imply accountability. But Nuttall (1982:31) is of the opinion that evaluation in education usually implies some form of accountability (if only to oneself as being morally responsible for one's action). According to MacDonald (1979:35) evaluation is a means by which accountability is rendered and he defines evaluation as "*...the process of obtaining information about the values and effects of educational activities.*" He goes on to say that this definition is useful, in the context of accountability, as it gives equal prominence to ends and means; or to product and process.

It is a prerequisite, according to Becher (1979:63), for there to be accountability that there should exist either some implicit or explicit standard of competence which has to be shown to be attained or some implicit or explicit goal which has to be worked towards in what is deemed to be a satisfactory way. Reflecting this distinction between

the accountability of ends and the accountability of means, the types of evaluation called for in each case, according to Becher (ibid.), are "*...labelled respectively as product evaluation and process evaluation.*" Product evaluation is defined by Becher: "*...as the assessment of whether some...level of mastery has been reached in the completion of some task.*" While process evaluation is given as "... *the assessment of whether some...quality of performance can be discerned in the attainment of some goals.*"

Though product and process evaluations are defined so as to relate them closely to accountability, it nevertheless remains the case that they too are logically distinct from it. The nature of the distinction (MacDonald 1979:35) is somewhat akin to that between balancing one's books and having them audited. Balancing one's books is the matter of working out debits and credits; auditing involves not only an independent scrutiny of the results but also the prospect of punitive measures if these results are unsatisfactory. The audit-bookkeeping metaphor is especially applicable to the audited self- evaluation practices than for inspection, tests and self-assessment. Nuttall (1982:33) also confirms this and, at the same time, indicates that audited self-evaluation is a compromise between the two extremes of internal and external evaluation endeavours when he says:

> "In education, audited self-evaluation offers a comprise between the wholly internal idea of self evaluation and the wholly external idea of inspection. The teacher would prepare an evaluation report whose veracity and validity would be checked by people outside the institution." Nuttall (1982:33)

Now that we have briefly looked at the relationship between accountability and evaluation, we will proceed with the responses of the various groups to the open-ended question dealing with the recent (since 1991) accountability procedure in the

Ethiopian education system, to see whether the respondents know the existence of this procedure and also see if they see the link between the recent accountability procedure and evaluation of teachers by parents and students. We will also see, in the subsequent sections, if this accountability procedure meets the criteria to evaluate the adequacy of accountability scheme or evaluation.

In this section we consider respondents' reported knowledge of the existence of the national scheme. One might have expected all respondents to have such knowledge but, as we shall see, this varied considerably between the different sets. The data reported were generated by the following questions:

'Do you know of any educational accountability policy or policies put in place by MoE since 1991?' 'Could you mention them?' or 'What educational accountability policies have been formulated by MoE since 1991?'

Seven out of twelve (67%) administrators knew that recent accountability procedures existed in the new Educational and Training policy. Some of the respondents were not sure if it should be referred to as accountability policy or accountability procedure. They referred to it by various names, such as:

"performance evaluation" (adm7)

"strategies for implementing educational policy-if you call it accountability policy..." (adm6)

"directives as to the responsibility of the teacher" (adm5)

"in evaluation students have a say" (adm4)

"parents will be involved in evaluation process" (adm3)

"students are also required to evaluate" (adm3)

"from centralized to decentralized to the woreda [district]) level" (adm2)

"guidebooks to the woreda [district] level" (adm1)

"new education and training policy" (adm4)

Five out of twelve administrators did not seem to know of the existence of the new accountability procedure and expressed their views as follows:

"some kind of directive to establish different kinds of responsibility" (adm9)

"accountability dimension lacking" (adm8)

"No. not heard of ...the situation does not allow us [the church] to have our own policy" (adm9)

"Holistic approach for the church" (adm8)

"not aware of" (adm10)

"...not heard of"; (adm11)

"The policy I have read does not say anything about accountability." (adm12)

Four out of nine principals knew that recent accountability procedure existed in the new Education and Training policy. Five out of nine principals were not sure that such procedure existed. The following are some of the comments made:

"During the Derge [the previous government] the guidelines of that time were highly centralised, it is kind of community based nowadays.' 'It was much easier when it was centralised, there is one line of authority.' 'Nowadays you have to go to woreda [district] committees." (gsp1)

"There were directives in black and white on paper. Mention of what a teacher must do, mention of what a director must do..." (gsp2)

"There is no policy that I am aware of." (gst7)

"Teachers' progress, that has to do with career structure, in this career structure the teachers are motivated,...the students evaluate teachers.'" (gsp4)

"The increment of salary, based on service years. Honest and respectful members of the society were selected to evaluate teachers. The school administration and three groups of students in a class-outstanding, average and below average-evaluated the teachers." (gsp5)

"There is no policy that I am aware of at this time" (csp2)

"Policy in the last ten years, no." (gst7)

Seven teachers out of twenty three interviewed were aware of the existence of the National Evaluation Scheme. Sixteen teachers did not know the existence of recent accountability procedures. The following are some of the actual comments made during the interview:

"I do not know, I do not know anything." (gst11)

"I do not recall. They see my gradebooks. We always submit lesson plans weekly, semesterly." (cst3)

"I would say they [policies] are available." (cst2)

"I am not aware of it." (cst7)

"I know the formation of that committee...what we call parents committee." (cst5)

"Nothing practical I can say; I am not aware of it." (cst6)

"I can not say I am knowledgeable about..." (cst8)

'"Well there is just one... this evaluation business was done for the teachers...by the students...by people from outside of the school. They were especially selected by the school administration...It was somewhat new process." (gst13)

"It is difficult to answer this question...there are guidelines given by the Ministry of Education." (gst14)

"No I can not immediately recall." (gst15)

"Accountability procedures, I am not so much aware of." (gst10)

"Not until now...Now it is in the process." (gst10)

"I did not come across this." (gst12)

"There are many policies they said, but I do not get chance to participate in them." (gst2)

"The policy maker must be the teacher himself. This does not mean that each and every teacher must come up with his...own new policy." (gst3)

"You know we are not that much interested in that. There is, but I do not exactly have it with me." (gst4)

"Well, in as much as educational policy is concerned, we teachers usually hear, like any other people in the street, we hear that educational policies have been drawn. but we do not go to the details of these policies...No chance to go to the details of the policy. I have heard some major points of the policy in the massmedia, on television and, radio...And our career and our future career also depends on this accountability..., I think." (gst6)

"...a new way of evaluating a teacher has been introduced...students are involved in evaluating the teacher as well as the parents of the students are involved. There is some dispute among the teachers as whether this is right or wrong...as you realise since students, at least there are some irresponsible ones simply based on personal hatred they may give a evaluation, better evaluation to some teachers who in fact should not be better than others." (gst5)

"No, when I say no, it does not mean it does not exist but I am not aware of it." (gst7)

Some points need to be made here with regard to the respondents' knowledge of the new National Evaluation Scheme. Further investigation revealed that the the problem of the knowledge about the new national scheme largely turned on the link between accountability and evaluation. It is not surprising that the majority of the teachers did not recognize the scheme as an 'accountability procedure', even where they were evaluated by the scheme, could not link it to accountability as the linkage is not so easy as mentioned at the introduction of this section.

Problems faced in the implementation of the new scheme were reported by the principals of the state schools which have tried to implement it. The problems mainly turned on how to go about selecting the students and the parents who would evaluate the teachers and the time taken to implement the scheme. One of the state schools had 11,000 (eleven thousand) students and it is not difficult to imagine how cumbersome it would be to go about selecting the students who should conduct the evaluation. All the three schools that attempted to implement the scheme used different approaches as far as the selection of the students to conduct the evaluation was concerned. Also different approaches were used in the selection of parents to conduct the evaluation. The following comments express the views of the principals of these schools.

"...In this school we take ten students, those who can give suggestions, those who can evaluate teachers...best performing, middle and low achievers is the criteria used...we take about ten students per teacher...there is a form and they [students] fill out how they feel about the teacher, we sum it up..." (gsp1)

"...Especially we have selected three students. One outstanding, one average, and again below average. Then again these three students they sit together and they evaluate their teachers." (gsp5)

"We selected fifteen students from each section that the teacher teaches to co-ordinate the evaluation..." (gsp2)

One school selected three, another one ten, and the third involved all the students that the teacher teaches in the evaluation process.

With regard to the selection of parents here are some expressions used:

"...Honest and respectful members of the society [community]...were selected...by the school administration...and these people are special again, approval was also given by the teachers..." (gsp5)

"...We simply call parents and ask them to select certain individuals which form a committee..." (gsp1)

"We have not completed the evaluation. We have requested for guidelines from the District and Zonal education offices on how to go about selecting parent..." (gsp2)

"It [evaluation process] takes a lot of time and it is cumbersome." (gst2)

In one school parents were called together to select a committee to conduct the evalation, in another school the school administration, with the consent of the concerned teachers, selected 'honest' and 'respectful' members of the community to

conduct the evaluation, while another school has requested for guidance on how to go about selecting the parents.

Discussion

The material presented so far in this section has been derived from interview material and documentary material on the new National Evaluation Scheme produced by the Ministry of Education. However, rather than offer a textual analysis of the Ministry's publications the approach adopted here is to draw upon the interview material, on the documentation and to a limited extent, and upon the literature, to address the adequacy of the new scheme using as a framework Nuttall (1982)

Criteria to Evaluate the Adequacy of an Accountability Schemes

Criteria that might be employed to evaluate the adequacy of an accountability procedure are given by Becher and Maclure (1978a), by Nisbet (1978), and in East Sussex Accountability Project (ESAP) (1980) cited in Nuttall (1982 : 28-30).

Nuttall drawing on the three sets of criteria comes up with the following list which in his words "*...embodies the best and clearest features of all of them and that is reasonably comprehensive.*" He does not claim that this is the only list that could be drawn up on the basis of the three criteria discussed above (Becher and Maclure; Nisbet; and ESAP)

Nuttall's six criteria

a) be fair and perceived as fair by all the parties involved;

b) be capable of suggesting appropriate remedies;

c) yield an account that is intelligible to its intended audience(s);

d) be methodologically sound;

e) be economic in its use of resources;

f) be an acceptable blend of centralized and delegated control.

The following section will attempt to weigh the new educational accountability scheme introduced as a result of the new Education and Training policy of Ethiopia against the criteria developed by Nuttall, indicated above.

Is the procedure economic in its use of resources?

It is difficult to obtain the true cost of the new National Evaluation Scheme in the Ethiopian education system in which parents/ community, students and the school staff and administration are expected to evaluate the teachers, because it is part of the MoE's budget. It can be assumed that to prepare two guidebooks (Career Structure Implentation Strategy and Teachers Performance Evaluation) required for the implementation of this accountability scheme for all the relevant schools in the country is expensive in terms of the country's resources. If one looks at the stationery required to conduct this evaluation by students in the urban large schools it could turn out to be very expensive. If one student at least evaluates ten teachers and if each student, at least, requires one page of paper to evaluate a teacher and two pages of paper cost 5p, only the cost of paper required by one school with eleven thousand students could run into thousands of Birr (11 Birr=£1).

From the experiences of the three state schools that had attempted to implement the scheme it is evident that it was not easy to organise the students to evaluate every

teacher in the school. It takes up lots of the administrators', teachers' and students' time. The statement of one principal sums it up well when he said: "*It was cumbersome and time consuming.*" (gsp2). To keep record of evaluation for every teacher from every section he/she teaches is also not easy as these schools do not have computers to aid them organise their records. Everything has to be done manually. In the East Sussex Accountability Project one strand of argument was that accountability schemes should not be allowed to divert significant resources (time as well as money) from the principal task of education. Nuttall (1982:30) writes: "... *that an accountability scheme should...be economic in its use of resources.*"

It could be concluded that the scheme is not economical in its use of resources.

Is the procedure intelligible to the intended audience(s)?

The new accountability procedure in the Ethiopian education system does not clearly state how the schools should go about selecting parents who should evaluate the teachers except state that broad based means should be arranged, taking into account the specific context of the area, by the school board and the surrounding community or district administration to effect the evaluation according to Teachers Performance Evaluation Guidebook (June 1995:3 section 2.1). This raises the following questions: Should all the parents that have children in the school evaluate or should only some parents evaluate? If only some parents are to do the evaluation, how should these parents be selected? The three secondary schools that had tried to implement the National Evsaluation Scheme were not clear on how to go about selecting the parents who would do the evaluation as it would be impractical and impossible to involve all parents. As indicated earlier, one of the principals (gsp2), reported that he had

requested for directives from the District and Zonal Education Offices on this matter. For that academic year he was not able to implement the part that had to do with evaluation by parents.(gsp2)

One school (gsp5) selected, with the consent of the teachers to be evaluated, in the words of the repondent: "the respected members of the community" (gsp5) to do the evaluation.

The approaches the three schools took with regard to the students who were to evaluate the teachers were also different. One school (gsp2) used the entire class that the teacher teaches to do the evaluation. One school (gsp5) selected three students from each class based on their academic achievements. Another school (gsp1) selected ten students, again based on academic achievements, from every class to evaluate each teacher. There was no uniform approach to selecting the parents and the students to do the evaluation.

This researcher was not able to see any completed evaluation scheme report when he was collecting the data as none of the three schools that did attempt to implement the scheme had compiled their reports. So it was not possible to comment on intelligibility of the reports to the intended audiences. But one thing that was clear to this researcher was that the procedure itself was not intelligible enough even to the intended implementors as could be seen from the discussions above. Becher and Maclure (1978:224) argue that an accountability scheme must be intelligible to the lay audience. But, at least, some parts of this evaluation scheme was not intelligible even to the professionals (principals and deputy principals) as seen above. Nisbet (1978:100), cited in Nuttall (1982:29), says that: "...*accountability schemes...should be understandable and communicable...*"

Thus, it can be concluded that the scheme was not intelligible to the intended audience.

Is the procedure fair and is it perceived as fair by all concerned?

As the procedure is just in the early stages of implementation, it is not easy to say whether it is fair and whether it is perceived as fair by all concerned, particularly by the teachers who are to be, mainly, affected by it. One problem that was indicated by some of the respondents is that the evaluation of teachers by students is the concern that the evaluation could be biased and was expressed by one respondent as follows:

"Now there are some disputes among teachers whether this is right or wrong, as you realize, since students, at least there are some irresponsible ones simply based on personal hatred...may give a evaluation, better evaluation to some teachers who in fact should not be better than others." (gst6)

A lack of evaluative skills and experience by the students and the parents was another concern to some of the respondents. Their views were expressed in the following way:

"...nowadays in our country the involvement of students and parents in grading teachers is really offending to us in our reality because the community and the students are not experienced and not prepared to grade and evaluate teachers... Students and parents are not skilled, not prepared and are not experienced in grading teachers. Grading a certain professional requires a certain skill." (gst6)

Opinions enriching educational ideas given by the parents and students are welcomed by some of the respondents, but respondents see this as different from grading teachers for the purposes of promotion.

Partiality on the part of teachers and other civil servants was the other concern of one of the respondents who expressed his views by saying the following:

"And like every civil servant teachers to be evaluated and graded...according to the laws and regulations of the Civil Service Commission...We also used to be evaluated by the rules and regulations of the Central Personnel Agency. This change was made very recently, we are dissatisfied" (gst6).

Another concern raised by some of the respondents was the competency of the parents in the country where illiteracy rate is about 80% among the parents.

Subjecting teachers to the evaluation by parents and students which are given the weight of 15% and 25% respectively, total of 40%, for the promotion consideration of the teachers is a legitimate concern as it is going to affect their livelihoods.

Several surveys conducted in the United States of America (USA), Brandt (1990:98) indicate that the majority of teachers confirmed that the worst part of the career ladder program is the difficulty of evaluating teachers fairly. In another survey (Brandt, 1990:98) 71% of the teachers surveyed indicated that evaluation practices were not consistent from one school to the next. These survey findings in the USA seem to confirm the experiences of the three schools that have attempted to implement the accountability scheme in Ethiopia.

Based on the discussions above and the findings of the several surveys conducted in the USA (which indicated the unfairness in evaluating teachers and the inconsistency in practice) one might suggest that the new accountability scheme in the Ethiopian education system is not fair and is not perceived as fair by some of the respondents.

Is the procedure methodologically sound?

The criterion concerned with the soundness of the methodology has to do with validity, verifiability and objectivity of the accountability scheme. Does the scheme measure what it is intended to measure? Verifiability has to do with the procedures, and the evidence on which the assessments are based, being open to checking in some way. (Nisbet 1978:100 cited in Nuttall 1982:29) That the accountability scheme should be objective or make its subjectivity explicit among the criteria given by Nisbet (ibid.). With National Evaluation Scheme in the Ethiopian education system it is not at all clear whether the scheme measures what it is intended to measure. The MoE admits the complexity of the scheme (Guidebook No. 2, June 1995:10) and promises to make an effort to improve it, step by step, to the extent that resources allow. It is also difficult to say that the students' evaluation will be objectively based. A concern raised by some teachers was that students might be biased depending on their relationships with teachers which may be good or not so good. It is also difficult to assume that the parent' evaluations are objective as, usually, parents base their evaluation on what they hear about the teachers from their children and not from any direct experience of thier work.

Does the procedure suggest remedies for the faults it identifies?

Becher and Maclure (1978:224) underscore the importance of this criterion in an accountability scheme when they say:

"It will be no use...instituting accountability systems which purport to evaluate the performance of teachers and learners if there is nothing which can be done to remedy faults which are identified..." Becher and Maclure (1978:224)

Guidebook (June,1995:10) gives a list of measures to prevent or to remedy faults which include: (own translation)

Careful selection of entrants into the teaching profession; equipping them with sufficient skills and knowledge; all that join the profession should satisfy competency requirements; undergo teacher training; be fit both physically and mentally; be psychologically ready; accept the code of ethics; and must have love and respect for the children, etc.

After employment short-and long-term courses, workshops and seminars should be organized for them on various levels. (Guidebook June, 1995:35) also suggests a remedy for teachers who fail to reach the 'teacher' stage in a given time limit to be sent for further training at their on expense and if they still fail they will be dismissed from the teaching profession. Remedies for inability to attain the 'teacher' stage because of illness or other reasons are also indicated.

The new accountability scheme seems to have adequate remedies included in it provided the organs responsible for implementing it have the necessary resources.

In sum:

1. Seven out of twelve administrators; four out of nine principals, and seven out of twenty three teachers knew the existence of the recent National Evaluation Scheme.

2. Most of the respondents, mainly the teachers, did not seem to recognize the link between accountability and evaluation.

3. Many respondents did not support the evaluation of teachers by parents and students because, they say, parents and students lack the necessary skills and experience, as evaluating professionals requires certain skills and experience. There is a concern on the part of some teachers that some, irresponsible, students even might use this as a means of revenge on teachers they do not like. They had no objection in getting the opinion of parents and students. But they want it to be limited to opinion giving only. Some respondents, mainly teachers, feel that it should not be taken into consideration in the way it is now for the promotion of teachers. The opinion of parents and students should be fed to the school administration that should make sure that it is used to help teachers to know their weaknesses as well as their strength in order to work on them as necessary.

4. There was lack of clear guidelines for the selection of parents to conduct evaluation and different schools used different approaches. The same was true for evaluation of teachers by students.

5. The new National Evaluation Scheme did not meet most (four out of six) of the criteria set out in the literature.

These findings will have implications for how educational accountability schemes should be formulated and its discussion is deferred until Chapter 5.

4.4 Accountability, Inspection and Supervision

The previous section explored respondents' perceptions of the place of evaluation in the accountability process. The data were mainly generated from the interview responses but particular attention was also paid to the documented account of the National Evaluation Scheme. Analysis of the interview material had to contend with variations in respondents' understanding of the concept of evaluation and its relationship with accountability. It was noted that this relationship remains unresolved even in the literature on these topics.

A similar problem presented itself in the data analysed in this section. The problem ought to have been less acute in this instance as inspection is a much more familiar process in Ethiopia and teachers and others might be expected to have a relatively clear view of the meaning. What could be expected to remain problematic is the degree to which respondents would recognize inspection as a component of the wider process of accountability. However, there are still problems of conceptualization despite respondents' familiarity with the process. One arises from the fact that Ethiopia has been subject to different external influences on its educational system and these have carried different connotations of such terms as 'inspection' and 'supervision'. Another is that relationships between these terms has not always been clear in the relevant literature.

For these reasons the presentation of the interview material needs first to be contextualized both in terms of recent educational history of Ethiopia, espoused on in the discussion in Chapter One, and in terms of the relationship between the concepts of inspection and supervision.

The relationship between 'inspection' and 'supervision' is complex and evolving. This is also true of the relationship between both these terms and 'accountability'. The problem arises in part because inspection is associated with the British tradition and supervision with the American tradition.

The concept of inspection has undergone a number of changes in Britain in the last one hundred and fifty years. According to Blackie (1981), cited in McCormick and Nuttall (1983:7), the first office of inspection in the United Kingdom (England and Wales) was established in 1839, just over six years after the first grant of public money to elementary education. Rhodes (1981) cited by Norman Thomas in McCormick and Nuttall (1983:13) states that:

"...inspection was the means of controlling the use of public funds, of seeing whether they were being used for the purpose and in the manner intended by the government."

The three elements seen to be in the original inspector's duties were, according to Rhodes (1981) cited in McCormick and Thomas (1983:14), (1) a check on the use of public funds; (2) provision of information to the central authority; and (3) provision of advice to those responsible for running the schools. The importance of this third element as against the idea of supervision and control present in the other two was stressed in the instructions, since inspection "is not be regarded as operating for the restraint of local efforts, but for their encouragement." (Rhodes 1981:96-7) The formation of the Local Education Authority by the 1902 Education Act changed the relationship of the central government to individual schools and the nature of inspectors' role in checking public expenditure on schools. Up until 1992 there were two systems in place, (in England and Wales), for school inspection, namely:

1) A national team of inspectors known as Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMI),

2) Teams of inspectors, advisers on the level of the Local Education Authorities (LEAs).

The 1992 Education (School) Act set up a new system of inspection in England and Wales which came into force for secondary schools in September 1993 and for primary and special schools in September 1994. Independent teams of consultant inspectors working to a Chief Inspector in a new body of OFSTED (Office For Standard in Education). Each team has to have one lay inspector. All Schools have to be inspected once every four years. In discussing the current prominence of inspection James Kennedy (1995:119) argues that inspection currently occupies a prominent place on the educational agenda "...due mostly to inspection's function as an accountability tool." Kennedy does not deny the role of inspector or inspection as a support to educational work or that it contributes even while serving accountability. But he argues that inspection's primary purpose is accountability and (ibid), says:

"...the changes in inspection activity in recent years are all bound up with the strengthening of accountability process in education."

The concept of supervision has also undergone a number of changes in the United State of America (USA). In reviewing the historical development of supervision in education Douglass et al (1961) note the history of supervision in the United States of America goes back at least to the mid 17th century when in 1654 the General Court of Massachusetts Bay Colony adopted a law providing that the selectmen of town should be responsible for appointing teachers of sound faith and morals and the teachers' continuance in office be only as long as they met these requirements. This action is considered to be the basis from which the modern concepts of America supervision had grown. The next step, in America, was the appointment in Boston in 1709 of a

committee of laymen to visit the schools, inquire into the methods of teaching and the proficiency of the scholars, and formulate means for the advancement of learning and the good government of schools. As towns grew larger and schools increased in size, one of the teachers in each school was appointed to be the headmaster or the principal. This official had no supervisory responsibilities. With the increase in population and consequently, in the number of schools in a community, the burden of directing the schools became so heavy that the office of superintendent of schools was established in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. According to Douglass et al (1961:1),

> "The rise of the normal schools for the education of teachers led to the allocation to the superintendents and the principals of the responsibility not only for rating the teachers but also for the improvement of the teacher and his method of instruction."

Douglass et al (1961:2) go on and note that these officers continued the practice of inspecting the teachers' work; having authority and being responsible for results they tended to tell the teachers what to teach and how to teach thus resulting in what they referred to as "inspectional supervision" which resulted in authoritarian methods of dealing with teachers and directing instructional activities. They claim that this inspectional, authoritarian concept of supervision continued into the early 20th century and is still found in many secondary schools. Several factors led to the decline of inspectional, autocratic supervision. Among them is the recoginition of the falsity of assumption that there are definite best methods of teaching in which the supervisor, because of his superior knowledge, can direct teachers. Also experimentation in methods of teaching led clearly to the conclusion that there are too many variable factors in the classroom to permit the laying down of immutable rules. Likewise, differences among teachers, pupils, and the objectives of instruction condition the

methods and result of teaching. Finally, the resistance of educational associations and the teachers themselves to the autocratic methods of supervision contributed to the decline of autocratic, inspectional supervision and the development of the modern concepts of supervision.

'Supervision' is used somewhat differently in the American and British scenes. In writing about this Edgar Stones (1984:13) says:

> "The word is the same, the concept is different. By and large the connotation of supervision in Britain and her erstwhile colonies relate to the activities of staff of training institutions in relation to students on initial teacher training. In the USA the connotations embrace the activities of parapedagogical corps of people in superordinate relationship with practising teachers in schools, as well as those activities cognate to British conceptions."

It is clear that the terms 'inspection' and 'supervision' have stood for different processes at different points of time in Britain and the United States-as well as other countries. Very broadly speaking, at times both terms have connoted 'control' over teacher performance and the performance of schools as a whole. At other times both terms have had a 'developmental' connotation implying a central concern with supporting teachers and schools.

Inspection was introduced to the Ethiopian education system by British experts in the early 1940s when Britain helped Ethiopia to organize its educational system after the expulsion of the Italian invaders who had occupied Ethiopia from 1935-1941. As school inspection had a long history in the UK, it is only natural to expect the British experts who were the first to help Ethiopia organize control of its educational system to introduce what they had practised back in their country. This concept was also very relevant as the government of Ethiopia was historically the main provider of funds for the modern public education and had to ensure the effective utilization of the meagre

resources. Inspection technique was in operation until 1962 (Supervision Manual, 1995) when British educational experts were replaced by Americans. Though no concrete reasons were given, except to say the inspection techniques became inefficient, why the change was made from Britain to America, perhaps, it would not be far from the truth to assume that it had to do with 'aid'. When the American advisors came it was also quite natural to expect them to introduce supervision as it had a long tradition in the USA. Supervision was in use in the Ethiopian education system until 1981 when it was replaced by inspection, this time not from Britain but from the Socialist countries as Ethiopia chose 'Marxism' as its ideology in 1974. This happened when the MoE got advisors from the socialist countries where inspection was the means which these countries used for ensuring the proper implementation of and adherence to educational policies formulated centrally. The Marxist military government was overthrown in 1991. The Transitional Government of Ethiopia issued a new Education and Training Policy in 1994 which follows the free market economy and now supervision is back in the Ethiopian education system. It has not been possible to look into the practices of these different periods to state whether the changes were only in name or if there were fundamental changes in practice for two reasons. One is that the analysis of the terms 'inspection' and 'supervision' became relevant to this research post factum and it was not anticipated that study of detailed practices of those four periods would be necessary. The second reason is that the detailed study into the practices of those periods would require a separate project and could not be covered within the scope of this preliminary study. This does not mean , of course, that change has not taken place.

It is clear from the above discussion and the discussion in Chapter One of the recent history of Ethiopia that not only has the language changed but also the procedures of inspection/supervision changed as has their relationship to what can be considered as accountability. For this reason it is not surprising that respondents, although many of them have experienced forms of inspection/supervision, found it difficult, as we shall see, to relate them to accountability.

Data on inspectors/supervisors were generated from responses to the following question:

1. 'Should teachers be accountable to government inspectors?'

Responses were: Administrators 67%, principals 56% and teachers 78%. To varying degree the three sets of respondents reported that teachers should be accountable to inspectors. The following statements reflect the general view:

"The inspector is the overall supervisor...His responsibility will ask [require] the accountability of teachers." (adm5)

"That is quite obvious...inspectors are who are...implementing the government policy..." (adm7)

"What we have is management inspection or supervision" (gsp2)

"We do not have any communications with government inspectors..." (cst1)

However, consideration of the data as a whole indicates that these responses may not be as straightforward as the simple percentages represent. The respondents' responses may be based on a general belief rather than one based on experience. Research by others suggests that there are so few inspectors that they visit teachers only when there

is a problem. Otherwise they carried out management inspections. The following statements from the respondents indicate the extent to which inspectors/supervisors visit teacher:

"The experience has not been so. The inspectors or supervisors came to the principal...the office...management inspection or supervision." (adm8)

"What we have is management inspection or supervision" (gsp2)

"...We do not see many..." (cst7)

"We do not have any communications with government inspectors..." (cst1)

There is also some ambiguity about the role of inspectors. Some respondents, especially administrators, made the point that there were now only supervisors and not inspectors. The following are typical statements by administrators:

"We do not have the word inspection; we have the word supervision instead of inspection. In the past regime we used inspection... and now we have supervision..." (adm2)

"...We do not have government inspectors, but we have got educational supervisors..." (adm1)

"...These days we are changing inspection to supervision... (adm6)

The interview material also indicated an ambiguity about the role, as inspectors seemed not to be seen as making judgments on classroom teaching. Nor were they seen as having a developmental supervision role. Some respondents saw them less in accountability terms than in terms of having a dissemination function in relation to government policy-without acting to see that those policies were implemented at the classroom level. In sum, despite a recognition of their authoritative role, inspectors

were not seen to be sufficiently involved with teachers to fulfil a functional inspectional or supervisory role and hence were only tenuously involved in teacher accountability.

Data on principals were derived from the following two questions:

1. 'Should what teachers do from day to day reflect the policy of the head?'

2. 'Should teachers be accountable to heads?'

Responses to the first question indicate that the majority of the respondents felt that principals should not have policy of their own but should reflect the policy of the government. The figures were: Administrators 58%, Principal 44%, and teachers 70%. Responses to the second question indicate a very high expectation that teachers will be accountable to the principal. The figures were: Administrators 83%, principals 100%, and teachers 100%.

Although, for reasons given above, respondents were not asked to rank different roles in relation to their significance in the accountability process, it is nevertheless hardly surprising that principals have such high positive percentages. The following statements convey the reasons for this.

" Obviously yes, particularly in executing the policy, the education policy of the country." (adm1)

" Yes, because the heads are there to check the progress of the teacher from time to time." (gst3)

Respondents were not specifically asked about the supervisory role of principals and therefore this must be inferred. The aspects of supervision mentioned in the interviews were:

Ensuring that government policies are implemented as reflected by the following statement:

"Yes, educational policies come to the teacher through the head." (gst10)

Ensuring that the school is effectively managed. The following statement reflects this:

"Yes teachers should be accountable to the heads...if they are not accountable to the heads the school work will not be facilitated...It is very important that teachers are accountable to the heads." (csp3)

Checking the progress of teachers as the following quotation indicates:

"Yes. Because the heads are there to check the progress of the teacher from time to time..." (gst3)

However, although principals are seen as having these responsibilities, there was little reference to how they actually ensured compliance in terms of supervision.

The principals were seen largely as the 'conduit' of government policy. Their role was seen by respondents largely as ensuring compliance to government policy, although it was noted that there were some government policies, e.g. on class size, which they could not implement. They were generally not seen as having their or ought to have their own policies. In this connection a number of responses indicated that teachers should have a degree of autonomy. This reinforced the emphasis on teacher 'responsibility' discussed in Section 4.1.

The following are the major conclusions which can be drawn in relation to accountability and inspection and supervision.

1. There is a lack of clarity about the meaning of these terms and their relationship to each other. This arises from a general lack of clarity and the changes in policy in Ethiopia in the last fifty years.

2. Inspection is not clearly perceived as a systematic component of accountability in the country. This may be partly due to conceptual confusion on the part of respondents, and partly due to the fact that there is considerable ambiguity in the country about the role of inspectors-not least in relation to the balance between inspection and supervision.

3. Finally, there are few inspectors/supervisors relative to the number of teachers and schools that teachers have had too little experience of their evaluative activities to be clear about their accountability functions.

These findings will have implications for policy and this will be discussed in Chapter 5.

4.5 Accountability, Centralisation and Decentralisation

Accountability is inextricably linked to the issues of the degree of centralisation and decentralisation of control in the educational system. Ultimately, in all societies, the education system and its personnel are accountable to the state, although patterns vary. In Chapter 2, Darling Hammond's five patterns of accountability were mentioned. These were: 'political', 'legal', 'bureaucratic', 'professional' and 'market' forms. (Darling Hammond, 1989: 59-80) Central government is implicated in each of these forms. Equally clearly, even in the most highly centralised system the mechanism of accountability must be to some extent de-centralised even if it is only through bureaucratic delegation. Even in a system in which there was the operation of the free market economy in education and the immediate accountability was to consumers, the parents who paid the fees, there would be legal constraints. In practice, accountability in most systems entails a balance between these major forms but the nature of the balance varies. The nature and degree of de-centralisation would also vary.

This section is concerned with perceptions of centralisation/decentralisation of accountability in contemporary Ethiopia, as held by a sample of administrators. However, before considering these perceptions it is necessary briefly to review current issues in the centralisation/decentralisation debate and the current position, as officially stated in Ethiopia.

There is a body of literature on centralization and decentralisation which is far too extensive to be reviewed here.

Centralisation refers to shifts towards greater government control. The term 'state' control can often be used for government control, although this may be confusing for countries which distinguish federal from individual state government. In this discussion therefore government is used to refer to the central power of elected representatives and permanent administrative machinery as used in Davies (1990:11).

Decentralisation generally conveys the meaning of the transfer of decision-making power from the nation state to some socially organic local community. There are, traditionally, four sorts of distinctions made regarding the decentralisation process.

1) *deconcentration*: the creation of regional or field offices, with staff representing the central authority and facilitating the implementation of central directives. This may give greater control by the centre over the peripheral parts.

2) *delegation*: The transferring of more degrees of decision-making to local levels, or to other bodies or training agencies, while maintaining authority in the central government. A central government can however withdraw powers delegated without new legislation.

3) *devolution*: the creation of local bodies with legal status and/or locally elected officers.

4) *privatization*: the allowing of 'market forces' to determine the operations of educational institutions and Sayed (1995:32), adds the fifth by citing Rodinelli (1987)

5) *deregulation* which is removing of restrictions to encourage privatization.

Internationally, there have been shifts in all of these directions, with some countries centralizing some decentralizing (e.g. France, as indicated in OECD 1995:7), and some doing both (e.g. UK). According to Davies (1990:12), the fashion seems to be more towards decentralisation, but there have been swings back to recentralization in some countries. Distinction must also be made between the effects of 'top-down' decentralisation initiated by the central authority, and 'bottom-up' decentraliztion demanded by local interests. Effects will also depend on the cultural history of the country and the degree of acceptance of hierarchical authority and accepted deference patterns.

The reasons or purposes of a move in either direction are also complex, and it becomes difficult to distinguish between the administrative, economic and the political imperatives. Prawda (1993:253-254) states that: "Educational decentralization has been formally or informally advocated by governments to improve the educational systems' finances, efficiency, quality, redistribution of political power, and stability." He goes on to elaborate that the financial rationale for decentralization addresses the issue of how educational resources are raised; the efficiency argument addresses the issue of how educational resources are used; the quality rationale argues that decentralization can provide greater sensitivity to local cultural variations and is a means of matching students' and schools' specific learning environment with national learning agendas or curriculum, usually set by central authorities and it is also hoped that additional regional and local relevance is nurtured into the educational system of the country. Redistribution of political power is rarely stated, further comments

Prawda by referring to an earlier work by McGinn and Street (1986), as a formal objective of decentralization, but is certainly part of the hidden agenda of many countries. With political power redistribution as an objective, decentralization may be undertaken to empower those groups supporting the central government policies or to weaken groups posing obstruction to those policies. Here, decentralization is less concerned with the transfer of power from one level of government to another, than it is with the transfer of power from one group to another. The stability rationale assumes that decentralization is an effective instrument for dealing with conflict management because it diffuses the source of conflict and provides additional layer of insulation between the central government and the rest of the system. This rationale suggests that the conflict management addressed by decentralization preserves institutional and political stability by allowing central governments to obtain better information about local or regional conditions; react more quickly to unanticipated problems; and mobilize support for national development policies by making them better known at the local level.

Decentralisation is, according to Davies (1990:12), attempted for some combination of the following:

To allow a more 'efficient' use of educational and community resources; to promote community participation as an individually fulfilling activity and human right; to reduce hostility to national governments and their policies; to concede to demands for local control; to avoid the negative impact of industralization and urbanization and bring life back to rural or inner-city communities; to undermine the power of one group by promoting another (e.g. the promotion of parent power is analyzed as a means to undermine the professional power of teachers) because of a loss of faith in national

education; to promote the ideology of free-enterprise economics or consumer choice; to break up large power bases by making smaller ones; to reduce financial burden on central government.

Decentralisation may also set up intermediate authorities-regional or local areas. It may become confusing even to try to distinguish centralized from localized. Braly, cited in Davies (1990:14), sums up the ambiguities in interpretation well:

"...Alternatively,...education system gives considerable autonomy to state governments and in the sense is decentralized; however within the states, some of which are very large there is considerable centralization...Again, elsewhere many decisions may be taken in regional headquarters rather than in the capital city, but it is usual to find centralist strings, especially in relation to the budget. Further, although creation of provincial governments may seem to be a decentralizing move when viewed from the national headquarters or from the provinces themselves, such moves may be accompanied by a reduction in the powers of local governments...The interpretation of the move thus depends on the view point of the observer. It cannot be assumed that administrative changes are decentralist merely because their architects describe them that way." Braly, cited in Davies (1990:14)

Two arguments, one concerned with responsiveness to local needs, the other with priorities with resource allocation in times of economic restraint or budgetary crisis, are put forward in favour of decentralisation, even to the extent of school self-management, Caldwell and Spinks (1992:14)

The case for decentralisation can be argued from different perspectives such as organizational theory; teachers' professional autonomy; and school effectiveness research, as well as from parental demand to participate in the affairs of schools.

Centralisation or recentralization is preferred for some or all of the following, according to Davies (1990:13).

Fear of loss of control, or threat by radicalized groups or unions; to implement coherent or equitable policies; to effect standardization in output, enabling employment mobility; to avoid multiplication of tiers or duplication of efforts; to lower costs and speed up activity; to avoid or monitor corruption; a perception of lack of experienced managers and decision-takers at local levels; difficulty in drawing boundaries or locating communities; a perception of people being unused to involvement, and needing training (e.g. parents); difficulty in defining 'community representatives', for example whether peasant associations or local official, and deciding which combination of disparate groups best represents community interests; lack of appeal of decentralisation to any participants-bureaucrats, teachers, or parents.

The case against decentralisation can also be argued from organizational theory as it argues for simultaneously "loose-tight" approach is the best for effectiveness. Efficiency and equity are also used as cases for centralization. Davies (1990:1) The need for standardization, the case for systematic monitoring, the case for the efforts needed to redefine the role of the central government and the extra resources in terms of time and finances are cases that can be made against decentralisation, or for centralization.

As referred to elsewhere, Ethiopia is a federal democratic republic consisting of nine states formed on the basis of settlement patterns, identity, language and the consent of the people concerned (1994 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia articles 47 (1) and 46 (2)). The powers, which are not exclusively reserved for the federal government, are concentrated in the states.

Ethiopia is carrying out 'top-down' decentralisation. The Educational Policy issued by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia in 1994 was designed to reflect the varied interests of the political organizations in the country (Husen et al 1994:2037-2041). The decentralisation was initiated by the central authority. Perhaps, the real purpose of the decentralisation was to win the confidence of the various political organizations which "represented" the interests of the various ethnic groups that were embraced by the Transitional Government. It was not a 'bottom-up' decentralisation as there is no evidence that the demand originated from the local public interests. It was also in reaction to the highly centralized management system that had been followed by the deposed Marxist-Leninist military regime. Particularly the new government cannot afford to be seen perpetuating the same practice as the government it had replaced. It has almost become a common practice, certainly in Ethiopia, that the incoming government takes on itself to make sure that the practices of the government it has replaced are discredited and replaced by new practices. The Marxist government did it to the Haile Sellassie regime and now the EPRDF is doing it to the practices of the Marxist government. These practices are evident in the area of educational curriculum of the country, to mention an area that has relevance for this research.

Although, presumably, the powers have devolved from the central government to the states they are highly concentrated at the state or regional levels. It is like sliding down the scale of centralization from the central to the state levels. This is consistent with Braly's view cited above. It is only like changing the centre of centralization from the

central government to the state level and many of the states in Ethiopia are quite large with populations numbering several million.

If one looks closely at the duties of the various tiers of educational system in Ethiopia, one observes that the lower tiers are there to make sure that the policies, rules and regulations, and guidelines given by the central Ministry of Education are implemented. (Educational organization and management June 1995:11-16)

The following statement from the Planning Services of the Ministry of Education of Ethiopia reflects how centralized the education in Ethiopia has been:

> "Educational administration was highly centralized in all aspects. The curriculum did not permit local variation. Text books were centrally produced and distributed. Teachers were recruited centrally and appointed and transferred from the centre. Local initiative was inhibited by the large centralized administrative bureaucracy, and local communities in the provinces had no say in the running of the school system." Planning Service of MoE (1981:6)

According to Kiros (1990:69), the overcentralization of educational administration was also one of the basic issues identified by the Educational Sector Review, discussed elsewhere.

According to the New Educational Policy (1994:29-30) Section 3.8.2, there is an intention on the part of the government to decentralize the educational management for the various purposes, among which relevance and quality are included and stated as follows:

> "Educational management will be decentralized to create the necessary condition to expand, enrich and improve the relevance, quality, accessibility and equity of education and training."

Section 3. 8.3 aims to democratize and professionalize the management of education, among other things, and states as follows:

"Educational management will be democratic, professional, co-ordinated, efficient and effective, and will encourage the participation of women."

As decentralisation in Ethiopia is in its early stages it is difficult to assess the precise ways in which accountability is being achieved. However, we can note the following:

1. A bureaucratic system of accountability is still in place but there has been a devolution such that schools are more accountable to a more local bureaucracy which has the potential for taking into account local circumstances in ensuring accountability for the implementation of national policies.

2. There is potentially greater scope for community involvement in accountability. The mechanism for this is principally the new pattern of evaluating teachers involving parents and students as described in section 4.3.

3. Central government is now prepared to privatize schools. This has introduced an element of market accountability since private schools must presumably meet the expectations of the fee-paying parents if they are to survive.

4. In spite of the rhetoric of professionalism in government policy, there is as yet no mechanism of professional accountability as outlined by Darling-Hammond (1989:59-80). Teachers organizations are largely unions which are not regarded as delivering accountability to the main stakeholders.

This section reports perceptions of the implication of decentralisation for accountability. However, the data presented here differ in two important ways from

that reported in the previous sections. One is that only administrators were interviewed on this issue. The reason for this was that it was felt that only the administrators amongst the three sets of respondents would have the necessary vantage point from which to view the early trends towards decentralisation in Ethiopia. The second difference is that a 'focused interview' (Merton et al, 1956) was used. The reason for this was it was felt that even administrators would not necessarily have a sufficiently wide awareness of the range of possible modes of accountability to conceptualize and convey what was occurring in Ethiopia. It was decided to use Kogan's (1986) three models of accountability as the focus of the interview. These models (with explanations given by Kogan) were thus given to the respondents in advance and formed the basis of the interview.

The question put to the educational administrators was 'Which of the three models of accountability given by Kogan (1986:24) is predominant in the Ethiopian Education System?' (See interview schedule for details of questions used)

1. public or state control model,

2. professional control model, and

3. consumerist control model.

The public or state control model

The public or state control model was readily perceived as the dominant model of accountability by a great majority, nine out of ten, of respondents. Typical comments were:

"My observation of current practices tells me that the public or state control model is more prevalent in Ethiopia..." (adm3)

"Educational policy is controlled by the government." (adm5)

"Of course it will be very difficult because I am new to these models. But as far as I can understand it seems to me that public or state control model is predominantly done in Ethiopia..." (adm2)

"Public or state control model is predominant in government schools..." (adm8)

The state was seen as establishing educational policy with accountability ensured through bureaucracy. Little scope was seen for 'autonomous' form of accountability. Procedures had to be followed as the following statement reflects.

"...The schools have to follow very strictly the policy of the government." (adm9)

This was true not only in relation to mode of delivery but also in relation to curriculum and methods.

"My previous experience tells me that more of public or state control model. That means the central government or the ministry of education here in Addis will give all directives, responsibilities and guidelines including teaching- learning materials. Everything is directed from the central government...Because of such behaviour, I could say more of centralized system of accountability..." (adm5)

As one respondent noted, there was little scope for the participation of the community in the accountability process.

"It was very much centralized and the community's participation and say in education was not that much." (adm6)

Respondents were aware of recent policies toward de-centralization but saw little evidence of this actually occurring.

"Public or state control model is more prevalent in Ethiopia...It is highly centralized...On the paper it says that it has been decentralized but so far in reality we do not actually see it." (adm10)

The professional model

Only one out of ten respondents felt that the professional model was predominant in the Ethiopian education system. This respondent stated:

"...The professional model is predominant..." (adm7)

The reason give for this view was that :

"...in recent times we [Ethiopia] have been following democratic approach [in the country]...the professional model is predominant." (adm7).

Subsequent questioning indicated that the state or public control was predominant previously [before the present government] and the consumerist control model is to come. The state's adoption of the democratic route was equated, by this respondent, to the predominance of the professional model of accountability. From the experience of this researcher (over twenty five years in education related work) the professional model of accountability, as the other nine respondents correctly said, is yet to come. This respondent's response could be because of two reasons. One is that the respondent is politically guarded and wants to sound politically correct. The other is that the respondent did not understand the concept of professional model of accountability, which is, somehow, related to the discussion in section 4.1.

On the other hand, amongst the respondents generally there was a sympathy for the professional model as an appropriate mode of accountability in the future. Typical statements were:

"Of course we should go to...professional control model but it will take time at present. We are not practising this model because it requires training, so on and so forth." (adm2)

"Our future intention is to make it more professional..." (adm5)

One respondent saw some signs of the emergence of professional accountability model:

"...But when we come to the professional model, I think, this may be in an infancy stage..." (adm4)

Nevertheless, despite the positive predisposition towards professional accountability there was a lack of clarity about the institutions through which accountability might be exercised. The only professional associations existing in Ethiopia are the teachers' unions and there was some doubt whether these were appropriate agencies of accountability as the following two statements indicate:

"Well, there are professional organizations but I am not sure...whether they can involve in aspects of controlling or participating in the development of educational system...mainly these are professional organizations, as far as I know, focusing to protect their own rights..." (adm9)

"Professional control model is very new...even professionals like teachers' associations are organized for unionism, not really for professional education..." (adm10)

The consumerist model

None of the ten respondents saw the consumerist model as predominant in Ethiopia at the present time. This is hardly surprising given that for many years the Ethiopian economy has been centrally planned with very little scope for the operation of free market.

Despite the fact that the market pattern of accountability does not currently operate in Ethiopia, in their responses the respondents indicated that it was 'in the air' as the following quotations indicate:

"The consumerist control model-it will come into being in the near future because last year we had new directives...It would be very difficult to say now how soon it will come into being... this will take years..." (adm2)

"...Therefore this consumerist control model will-may come, depending on the economic growth of the country." (adm4)

"...in the future according to the plan of the government we are coming to the consumerist control model..." (adm7)

"...we are now heading towards consumerist control model " (adm6)

However, a number of respondents expressed doubts about its future as the following quotations indicate:

"...The professional and consumerist models have not really taken root. They have not started...so there are only intentions..." (adm3)

"...consumerist control model is very new in Ethiopia...so far, as far as I can see, nothing happened. It is only in the minds of some people...It is wishful thinking..." (adm10)

Only one respondent saw consumerist model of accountability in terms of private schools indicating that there is a policy provision to operate private schools:

"...at the policy level possibility of starting private schools. "(adm9)

It is surprising that none of the respondents referred to the fact that the existing non-governmental schools represent financial decentralization (they fund themselves) but centralized accountability with regard to policy and curriculum (they have to follow government policy and curriculum).

The centralized state model was seen as dominant with decentralisation existing only insofar as it is a hierarchical bureaucracy through which accountability is achieved. There was almost a resigned acceptance of this pattern amongst respondents because of the weight of history.

Almost all respondents held that the professional model was not applicable. However, there were some indications of approval for the idea of decentralising accountability to the profession but the only existing basis for this, the teachers' unions, was not considered appropriate because the unions are seen as serving the interests of their members rather than their clients.

The market model was not perceived as having much significance at the present time although a number of respondents recognized that this pattern of accountability might emerge in the future as there is currently much discussion of the potential for market forces. Private schools were seen by some respondents as forming the basis of a decentralised, market-based pattern of accountability but no respondent saw a largely

privatized system of schooling in the immediate future. There are two reasons for this according to the experience of this researcher. One is the memory of the recent past when private properties, including private schools, were confiscated by the previous regime without compensation to the rightful owners. This former policy has created a lack of confidence in government and it will take time for local investors to gain this confidence. The second reason is, and it is being discussed publicly, the land holding system in Ethiopia. Osler (1997: 137) during her visit to Addis Ababa witnessed this and states: "...land tenure was seen as a central issue, and was debated vigorously." To operate a secondary school one needs upto sixty thousand square metres of land (Secondary School Standandard, April, 1995:2). To be able to lease this size property, especially in urban areas, requires a lot of money and investors do not wish to invest a lot of money as education is not a fast rewarding business, anyway.

In sum; a centralized state controlled system of accountability, with perhaps some professional and market elements, was seen as a likely future pattern.

Chapter Five : Conclusions, Implications and Recommendations

Ethiopia is an extremely poor and underdeveloped country which has, in recent years, experienced a degree of political turbulence and change. One of the key tasks for the country in the present period of reconstruction is to improve the quality of its educational system to the degree to which its resources permit. One way of achieving this is to improve the process of accountability. It has been the purpose of this research, in the absence of any research on the topic within the country, to undertake a very preliminary study of the issue by exploring the perceptions on accountability held by three groups of educationists-teachers, principals and administrators-who are directly involved. This has been a detached enquiry seeking to establish prevailing perceptions of accountability but it has also been motivated by the view that accountability in Ethiopia will be improved if Government takes into account the views of those who will be directly involved.

It was not the intention of the study to generate generalizable data. Resources were not available for undertaking the necessary large-scale national survey. Rather, it was the purpose of this study to do two things: to identify the need for and the problems which would be involved in such a survey and to identify some of the issues entailed in establishing an effective system of educational accountability in Ethiopia.

This final chapter summarizes the findings and identifies some of the key issues. However, it goes beyond these outcomes to make some tentative recommendations. In doing so the investigator is fully aware that he is going beyond his data but would make two points in defence of this. One is that it is rarely possible to 'read off' policy

from data and some interpretation and extrapolation occurs. The other is that the investigator has, during the course of the study, learnt more than is provided by the data. His views have inevitably also been shaped by his reading in the field of accountability and, in the light of the data and the reading, he has reflected upon his own experience as an administrator. The many tentative recommendations are thus made on the basis of the whole of this learning experience.

This final chapter is organized according to the five issues which have been identified as perhaps the most important of the many which could have been included. Each section is subdivided into two parts: findings and implications. The recommendation section has three parts: data-linked recommendations, recommendations arising from the wider experience gained in undertaking this study and suggestions for further research.

5.1. Conceptions of accountability

Findings

Accountability is defined differently even in the international literature. It was recognized at the outset that respondents, other than the administrators, would be unlikely to have a technical definition in their professional discourse and it was also recognized that it might have been unprofitable to focus upon the social construction of respondents which might have been interpreted as corresponding to the concept of accountability. Thus the methodology entailed a compromise.

That the principals and the teachers did not give a technical definition of accountability was not surprising. Perhaps what is surprising was that the administrators did not

incorporate in their responses a technical or semi-technical definition of accountability as part of their professional language. In their responses to the open-ended question: 'What do you understand by the word accountability?' 'Responsibility' as a term was given by twenty nine respondents out of the total of forty four interviewees (nine out of twelve administrators, seven out of nine principals, and thirteen out of twenty three teachers). Respondents used responsibility as synonymous with accountability which triggered for the researcher a deeper consideration of the distinction between accountability and responsibility. This revealed that there was a distinction between the two terms (Pateman, 1978; Elliot, 1980; McCormick, 1982; Kogan, 1986; and Hoyle and John, 1995). Accountability, (Hoyle and John 1995), entails meeting the requirements of a set of procedures designed to assure the various clients of the profession that the accounting units (e.g. individual teachers, etc.) are meeting appropriate standards of practice. In accountability the practice is pre-ordained as relatively routine. Teachers are acting as agents. Professionality entails efficient delivery of a particular requirement. Responsibility is given a different connotation from accountability. According to Hoyle and John (1995:103), responsibility is conceptualized as being a broader principle. To accept the need for, and to respond to, the process of accountability is to be responsible. Responsibility entails more voluntaristic commitment to a set of principle governing good practice and their realization through day-to-day practices. These principles include, among other things, the recognitions of and compliance with, the requirements of formal accountability.

This conceptual distinction derived from the literature helped to make sense of the responses of the sample. The fact that they responded in this way indicated that by and large their experience had not led them to perceive and understand a concept-in-use

corresponding to accountability and they largely saw themselves as having a personal responsibility which was moral, and sometimes specifically, religious in origin.

Implications

Of the many implications which can be derived from the apparent priority given to responsibility over accountability as defined above perhaps two are overarching. One is that Government has a major job in conveying to educationists a concept of accountability which relate to procedures. It has to be recalled that even in western countries the concept of accountability was not used within the teaching profession until the 1970s. In Britain it is often held that the Ruskin College speech of Prime Minister James Callaghan given in 1976 was a key event in raising the awareness of the need for accountability. From that point, and increasingly during the terms of the Conservative Government, which replaced Labour, the processes and procedures of accountability were greatly extended and, thus, the concept-although we know little about the spread of this as a term-in-use in professional discourse.

A second implication is that apart from improving the procedures and processes of accountability the Ethiopian Government might seek to capitalize on educationists' sense of responsibility and develop this further. This might be a task taken on by the institutes of teacher education in a more focused way than is currently the case. If the institutes are successful in this there will be a reinforcement of professional responsibility in the culture of the schools.

5.2. Expectation of the Teacher's Role

Findings

One of the problems of accountability is that the role of the teacher probably has a wider role set than any other occupation. When the expectations of each of the components of the role set are congruent there is little problem. However when their expectations differ, and where some are more authoritative and/or more immediate than others, there is a theoretical problem. However, this does not become an actual role conflict for teachers unless they perceive it as such. The main components of the role set can be considered in turn.

Parents: The initial response was that teachers should strongly heed the expectations of parents, since they were acting in part 'in loco parentis' they were responsible to the parents of the children which they had in their care. However, when pressed beyond this diffuse response there was some modification in terms of the specific professional responsibility for teaching students. On this matter there was a strong view that parents did not have the necessary expertise to hold teachers accountable for their professional knowledge and skill.

Students: Again there was an initial response that teachers should be accountable 'to' their students. However, further probing indicated that they felt that they should be responsible 'for' their students and, further, that their responsibility should be shared with parents and the community.

Superordinates: As the superordinates of teachers include principals, inspectors and 'the government' it was difficult to discuss a general position, particularly as the responses of teachers, principals and administrators differ. The position might best be

summarized as government policy having the major focus of accountability in broad terms of delivering a curriculum with teachers accountability to the principal for their immediate practice and any necessary modification of policy in the context of social needs. There was an ambiguity inherent in perceived accountability to inspectors since inspectors had had a key role in the past but are now too thinly spread to function effectively in terms of teacher or principal accountability.

Community: It should be noted that respondents were given no definition of community. Responses were not unlike those given in relation to parents. There was a recognition of a diffuse accountability to 'the community' but in specific terms it was felt that communities, even through their leaders, lacked the expertise to warrant specific accountability rights. The issue was further clouded by the fact that a minority of teachers in particular felt that they were not given the respect that they felt was their due from the community and its leaders.

Teachers: Each group of respondents reported very positively on teachers' accountability to each other. However, further probing indicated that this reflected a belief in teachers' mutual support, collaboration and what the literature would term 'collegiality'. In short, they appeared to have in mind a feeling that teachers should be 'responsible' for each other rather than 'accountable' to each other.

The responses to the question seeking their perceptions of ' what should the teacher be accountable for?' are so interlinked with their responses to the question relating to teachers role set and needs to be dealt with at this junction. Some of the elements given by the respondents and what is indicated in the official documents are either elements for which teachers should be accountable for or what teachers should be accountable for can be inferred from these elements.

Looking at the picture as a whole one can say that although the respondents held general views about teacher 'accountability' to all components of their role sets what further probing indicated was that the only accountability which 'counted' was to government policy as mediated by the principal. The teachers appeared to experience no acute role conflict since, although they felt a diffuse responsibility to parents and 'the community', they did not see this as being at odds with the specific requirements of the government. Responses with regard to what teachers should be accountable for, may be based on a general belief than on experience.

Implications

Power rests with government. Ultimately the only accountability which 'counts' is to government as mediated by principals and to a lesser extent inspectors. This centralization of accountability is common to perhaps the majority of countries. Any change which was designed seriously to involve other groups in the accountability process would come only from pressure from these groups or, more likely if at all, on the initiation of government itself. Also teachers cannot be held accountable for things upon which they do not have power.

In some western countries this has been achieved in two major ways.

Creating Boards of governors for schools with delegated powers in relation to the management of the school.

Devolving financial responsibilities to school together with parental choice which put schools in a market situation in which the expectations as consumers have a market force.

The responibilities of teachers are well defined.

5.3. The National Evaluation Scheme

Findings

The Education and Training Policy issued by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia in April 1994 provided the basis for the creation of a 'career structure' with six stages at which teachers are placed depending on their ability and number of years of teaching experience. The six stages are: 1) beginner teacher, 2) junior teacher, 3) teacher, 4) senior teacher, 5) associate headteacher, and 6) headteacher. Promotion depended on the outcome of performance evaluation. This performance evaluation is carried out by three groups, according to the following percentages: 1) school administration and staff 60%, 2) students 25%, and 3) parents/community 15%. This performance evaluation constituted 80% of the overall evaluation while experience counted for 20%. As with the conceptions of 'accountability and 'responsibility'', there was a problem for respondents to distinguishing between 'accountability' and 'evaluation'. This is hardly surprising since the distinction is far from clear in the western literature. Accountability and evaluation are closely interrelated in that evaluation is a prerequisite to accountability in providing an explicit standard of competence in relation to a stated goal which has to be shown to be attained or some implicit or explicit goal which has to be worked towards in what is deemed to be a satisfactory way. The respondents knowledge of the existence of the national scheme derived by the following questions: 'Do you know of any educational accountability policy or policies put in place by MoE since 1991?' or 'What educational

accountability policies have been formulated by MoE since 1991?' 'Could you mention them?' Surprisingly only seven out of twelve administrators, four out of nine principals, and seven teachers out of twenty-three knew the existence of such a policy. Problems in the implementation of the new National Evaluation Scheme was also reported by the principals of three government secondary schools that have attempted to implement the scheme. The schools that had attempted to implement the Evaluation Scheme were not sure of how to go about selecting parents to conduct evaluation. Different schools used different approaches. One school was not able to implement the parental evaluation and had requested clear guidelines from the higher office. The implementation was time consuming; and it was not considered fair by the teachers who took the view that evaluating professionals like teachers requires particular skills. Teachers also objected to being evaluated by students because of their lack of the necessary skills. It should be noted however that teachers were not against evaluation as such. Since respondents indicated resigned acceptance or outright objection it was decided to supplement the interview data by an analysis of official documentation on the new scheme against the adequacy criteria developed by Nuttall for this purpose. Thus, the new National Evaluation Scheme was weighed against the six criteria developed by Nuttall (Nuttall, 1982:28-30) These were: 1) be fair and perceived as fair by all parties involved; 2) be capable of suggesting appropriate remedies; 3) yield an account that is intelligible to its intended audience(s); 4) be methodologically sound; 5) be economic in its use of resources; and 6) be an acceptable blend of centralized and delegated control. The new National Evaluation Scheme seemed to have adequate remedies built in provided the organs implementing it have the necessary resources. However, it failed to meet four out of six criteria.

Implications

It is clear that many respondents had not heard of the National Evaluation Scheme, that those who had had neutral or negative views and that some schools had had great difficulty in implementing the scheme. The choices facing the Government appear to be either to abandon the scheme or to reconsider it. Any reconsideration would need to take stock of how it might be improved, to make the necessary funds available, to implement training programmes for principals, teachers and evaluators.

5.4. Inspection and Supervision

Findings

Despite respondents' familiarity with the process of inspection, there was still a problems of conceptualization which arose from the fact that in the past in Ethiopia changes in the source of external influence on the terms 'inspection' and 'supervision' have been given different connotations. The relationship between the two terms has not always been clear in the relevant literature and the relationship between ' inspection' and 'supervision' is complex and evolving. This is also true of the relationship between both these terms and 'accountability'. The problem arises in part because inspection is associated with British tradition and supervision with the American tradition.

To a varying degree the three sets of respondents reported that teachers should be accountable to inspectors. However, consideration of the data as a whole indicated that the responses were not straightforward. Responses may be based more on general beliefs than on experience as research by others suggests that there are few inspectors and that they visit teachers only when there is a problem. Their main functions are to

visit principals, management inspection. The respondents themselves also reported that they seldom saw inspectors/supervisors. Moreover, it was noted by some respondents that there was also an ambiguity about the role, as inspections were not seen as carrying out a developmental supervisory role. Some respondents saw them less in terms of accountability than in terms of having mainly a dissemination function in relation to government policy. Despite a recognition of their authoritative role, inspectors/supervisors were not seen to be sufficiently involved with teachers to fulfil a functional inspectional/supervisory role and therefore were only tenuously involved in teacher accountability.

Implications

It is clear from the history of inspection in Ethiopia and the comments made by the respondents that there is a great deal of ambiguity about the role of inspectors-especially in relation to accountability. It may be the Government, and the inspectors themselves, have a clear concept of the role. If so, this should be made clear in a policy document to be distributed to all schools. Otherwise the implications are:

For the Government to reconsider the role of inspectors in particular as to whether their role is to advise or inspect or both.

If they are to have inspection role thus the Government needs to establish a clear job description to be made available to the inspectors and all schools.

If school inspectors are to be part of the accountability procedure Government should establish a policy in relation to the frequency of inspection, the form of inspection, the availability of reports, the implications for the individual school of poor reports.

If accountability is to be in part through inspection/supervision, Government will need to make available the necessary funds to recruit and train sufficient number of inspectors to ensure regular inspection.

5.5. Accountability, Centralization and Decentralization

Findings

Accountability is inextricably linked to the issue of the degree of centralization and decentralisation of control in educational systems. In all societies, the education system and its personnel are ultimately accountable to the state although the patterns vary. In practice, accountability in most systems entails a balance between centralized and decentralized forms but the nature of the balance varies. Of course, accountability is only one element in policies of centralization and decentralization. The reasons why countries retain a centralized pattern, or engage in a policy of decentralization, or, perhaps re-centralization are complex and have generated a literature a review of which is far beyond the scope of this study. In relation to accountability, centralization ensures accountability to the state. Decentralization may have two functions: to ensure that accountability to the state is more efficiently achieved through political and bureaucratic decentralization to ensure that schools are directly accountable to their immediate clients and the local community. In practice, accountability is sought through centralized and decentralized means.

Ethiopia is a federal democratic republic consisting of nine states formed on the basis of settlement patterns, identity, language and the consent of people concerned (Constitution of FDRE, 1994 articles 47 (1) and 46 (2)). The country is currently

carrying out a policy of decentralization. The Education and Training Policy issued by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia in 1994 was intended to reflect the varied interest of the political organizations in the country. The decentralization was initiated by the central authority with the main purpose of winning the confidence of the various political organizations which "represented" the interests of the ethnic groups that were embraced by the Transitional Government. It was also a reaction to the highly centralized system that had been established by the Marxist military regime. However, the powers which have devolved are highly concentrated at the regional level.

Data on the perceptions of the implication of decentralization was derived only from the administrators group because it was felt that only the administrators amongst the three sets of respondents would have a necessary vantage point from which to view the early trends towards decentralization in Ethiopia in relation to accountability. Kogan's three models (Kogan, 1986:24) were used as the focus of the interview. The respondents were given copy of Kogan's models a short time before the interviews. They were asked in the interview which of the three models- public or state, professional or consumerist-were currently predominant in Ethiopia.

The public or state control model was perceived as the dominant model of accountability by great majority.

Only one out of ten respondents felt that the professional control model was predominant in the Ethiopian education system.

None of the respondents saw consumerist control model as predominant in Ethiopia.

When the interviewer explored the possible future pattern of accountability, the respondents generally assumed that the state control model would remains

predominant. However the majority of respondents saw advantage in the development of both professional and consumerist patterns might contribute to the improvement of educational quality but were unsure as to the means by which this movement could be achieved.

Implications

Though there are legal provisions for decentralization by privatization (Privatization Regulation No. 206, 6 March 1995, issued by the Council of Ministers; formation of states/regions on the basis of nation, nationalities; proclamation No. 4, 23rd August 1995, issued by FDRE), ostensibly made to encourage consumerist control, there has actually been little movement in this direction and there remains high degree of centralization.

Generally, except for some private individuals who used to provide education until the mid 1970s when their schools were confiscated by the Marxist government without any compensation to the rightful owners, church or religious organizations that still operate schools, the government historically has been responsible for providing education. This view is reflected in the following statement by one respondent:

> "...in various African countries education has been introduced by missionaries, in most cases. In the Ethiopian situation predominantly it had always been a state affair. The state in this country had been a centralized state. Centralized policies..." (adm1)

The weight of history seems to militate against an immediate move towards the consumerist model.

The other factor that militates against the immediate emergence of the consumerist model is the that the central purpose for religious institutions to operate schools is to propagate their faith. FDRE in its present constitution Article 90 sub article 2 states:

"Education, public or private, shall be provided in the manner that it is free from any political partnership, religious influences or cultural prejudice."

Furthermore, there is a directive from MoE that forbids the teaching of religion in schools during school hours. This point did not emerge from the interviews and is included on the basis of the writer's personal experience. This experience also suggest that two other factors militate against imminent implementation of consumerist model are the recent memories of confiscation of properties, including schools, by the defunct regime without compensation to the rightful owners and the present land holding system, which is widely discussed about as one of the major bottlenecks to development in Ethiopia, of the country. To open a secondary school requires up to 60,000 square metres of land, according to MoE (1995). To be able to lease this much land in Addis Ababa or other regional cities requires a large sum of money. This investigator's observation is that investing in education is not a business which brings quick financial rewards.

These factors will render difficult, if not impossible, the early privatization of education.

Recomendations

This chapter has been organized on the basis of the five major themes which emerged in the course of the research. Attention has been drawn to the implications arising from each of the themes. We can now move from implications to recommendations. It was

noted at the beginning of the chapter that the writer had learnt much in the course of undertaking this research which is not confined to the data generated but to his reading of the international literature on the topic of accountability and from reflecting on his experience as educational administrator in Ethiopia. The whole of this experience contributes to the recommendations. One can rarely 'read off' policy implications from data, especially data generated in a small-scale survey such as this. Nevertheless some recommendations made below are closer to the data than others, which have been shaped by the broader experience of undertaking the study. Whilst no hard and fast line can be drawn, an attempt has been made to draw a broad distinction between these sources of the recommendations.

Data-linked recommendations

1. Teacher-training institutions should be required by government to include in their curriculum units designed to give students a knowledge of the concept of accountability and to reinforce the sense of teachers' ethical responsibility to their clients.

2. Government should ensure that those educationists who will be subject to meeting the requirements of accountability procedures participate in the formulation of those procedures.

3. Accountability procedures should be such that those educationists who are subject to them are given unequivocal guidance as to what they are accountable for, to whom they are accountable, and how they are accountable.

4. The New Evaluation Scheme, especially that element which involves the evaluation of teachers by students and parents, should be suspended for reconsideration.

5. The role of the inspector in accountability should be clarified and a sufficient number of inspectors be recruited and trained to fulfil that role.

Recommendations which arise from the wider experience gained in undertaking this study.

1. Government shoud ensure that accountability procedures defend teachers rights, and appropriate degree of autonomy, as well as detailing their responsibilities.

2. Teacher associations should press for, and Government respond to, the creation of a general teaching council which would, amongst other things, advise on accountability matters and formulate a code of ethics.

3. Government should, through the professional development of teachers and principals, encourage greater peer appraisal and monitoring.

4. Government should establish a clear strategy of change for implementing a new national scheme of accountability which would be research-based, entail a pilot scheme and be subject to monitoring and, where necessary, modification.

5. Recognizing the problems which have been experienced in other countries, Government should nevertheless ensure that the new inspectorate has a support as well as an accountability function.

6. The Government should reasure potential investors in education and provide such incentives as free land for school building, tax exemptions, etc. in order to further its policy of privatization with its associated market accountability.

Suggestions for further research

It is conventional for dissertations and theses to make recommendations for further research. In this case, the recommendations are integral to the conclusions arising from the research. These suggest that the National Evaluation Scheme should be suspended until a new research-based programme of accountability is developed. This implies two broad research programmes, one to follow from the other, viz:

1. A national survey of educationists' perspectives on accountability. The present small-scale study has demonstrated the need for this. A subsequent study should be based on a sample which would be representative of educationists across the country. A questionnaire survey should be employed where the issues are amenable to this approach, supplemented by an interview survey to explore the issues which are not amenable to questionnaires. The present study provides a useful guide to a design of such a survey. It would also include students, parents and community representatives which, because of constraints of time and resources, had to be ommitted from this study.

2. The second phase of further research would entail an applied research programme using methods developed elsewhere to study the management of change. This would entail a pilot study of the problems encountered in implementing a new programme of accountability and would susequently monitor the national implementation.

Conclusion

This study has been undertaken in the belief that education quality can be improved through the processes and procedures of accountability. It was undertaken also in the belief that this holds for Ethiopia as for any other country. Its main purpose was to explore current patterns of accountability in Ethiopia largely through the perceptions of educationists at different levels of the educational system and also through the consideration of documented government policy on accountability.

It was anticipated that respondents would not necessarily have the conceptual grasp of accountability and this proved to be largely the case. It was nevertheless considered to be important to establish, as far as feasible in a dissertation length study, what awareness they had of the elements which would, or could, improve accountability procedures. It was considered important to establish this not only for the purpose of assessing the awareness of educationists but also from the point of view of teachers, principals and administrators having their voice heard in the future development of an accountability policy in Ethiopia.

Amongst the many findings of this study, perhaps two are particularly salient: One is that although educationists tended not to have the concept of accountability as part of their professional discourse they showed themselves aware of the desirability of teachers having a sense of responsibility to the various stakeholders in the system. It is this sense of responsibility on which government should capitalize as it seeks to develop an accountability policy.

The other is that although there is a national procedure for one form of accountability through the National Evaluation Scheme for teachers, there was very little awareness

of this and those who had been involved in the procedure reported considerable problem.

These findings suggest that the government should suspend the evaluation scheme and re-consider a programme of accountability for the next 10-15 years consistent with the resources which it is prepared to commit to the programme. The requirements are as follows:

- a consideration of accountability programmes elsewhere-particularly in countries at the same stage of development as Ethiopia;
- a programme of research entailing a survey of the views of different groups on aspects of accountability;
- on the basis of the above, and in the light of government goals, establish a research and development study of an accountability scheme in pilot areas;
- in the interim establish policies which will enhance accountability outside the national scheme-particularly by facilitating private schools;
- supporting and extending teacher responsibility and professional accountability through initial and in-service training.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Support Documents

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

School of Education
35 Berkeley Square, Bristol BS8 1JA
Telephone: (0117) 928 9000

Professor Eric Hoyle

To whom it may concern

Megerssa Yadeta is undertaking research in this School of Education under my supervision. The topic of his research is educational accountability in Ethiopia. In order to identify existing, and potential, modes he is seeking the views of personnel positioned at different points in the educational system who might be expected to give an informed opinion.

We very much hope that educationists who are invited to be interviewed will respond positively. Accountability is an important issue in many countries at the present time and it is important that Megerssa obtains quality material for his study.

In anticipation of your co-operation I would like to convey the gratitude of my institution.

Eric Hoyle

Professor Eric Hoyle

13th March, 1996

Fax: (0117) 925 1537

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በታላቋ ብሪታንያ ዉስጥ በትምህርት ገበታ ላይ በመሳተፍ ላይ የሚገኙ በርካታ ኢትዮጵያዉያን ተማሪዎች እንዳሉ ይታወቃል።

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አቶ መገርሣ ያደታ በታላቋ ብሪታንያ ከሚገኙት ተማሪዎች አንዱ የሆኑና በUniversity of Bristol ትምህርታቸዉን የሚከታተሉ ድስርቴሽናቸዉን ለማጠናቀቅ አንዳንድ ጥናቶችን ለማድረግ ወደ ኢትዮጵያ ለመመለስ ዝግጅት በማድረግ ላይ ይገኛሉ። ስለሆነም University of Bristol የጻፈላቸዉን ደብዳቤ ከዚህ ጋር አባሪ አድርገን እየላክን፣ ጥናታቸዉ እንዲሳካ የሚመለከታቸዉ የሚኒስቴሩ አካላት ትብብር እንዳይለያቸዉ እንጠይቃለን።

"ከሠላምታ ጋር"

(ከሎሬንሶ ዊጊር)
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ለአቶ መገርሣ ያደታ
Magersa Yadeta
30/31 Richmond Terrace
Clifton
Bristol BS8 1AD
UK

የኢትዮጵያ ወንጌላዊት ቤተክርስቲያን መካነ ኢየሱስ
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The Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus
Central Office

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Central Ethiopia Synod
Central Synod
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Kefa & Gambella Bethel Presbyteries
Northern Ethiopia Area Work

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South Central Synod
South Ethiopia Synod
South West Synod
Western Synod
Western Wollega Bethel Synod

Ref. No. _____

Date _____

May 24, 1996

Your Excellency
W/ro Genet Zewede
Minister, Ministry of Education of the Federal
Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
Addis Ababa

Your excellency,

Ato Megerssa Yadeta, Scholarship holder from the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus, is currently studying for a doctoral degree in educational management and administration at the University of Bristol in the united Kingdom. He is at the stage where he has to conduct research to complete his studies. Ato Megerssa Yadeta's research topic is Educational Accountability in Ethiopia. It is hoped that this research will contribute to understanding and improvement of existing and potential modes of accountability which will in turn contribute to the understanding and improvement of quality of education in our country.

To generate data for his studies Ato Megerssa hopes to get the views of educationists in various positions as well as to consult educational policy documents with relevance to educational accountability.

We would like to kindly request your excellency to grant permission for the conduct of the research as well as to provide the necessary directives to the relevant offices for their co-operation to make the study a successful undertaking.

Enclosed please find supporting letter from the University of Bristol.

Thanking you in advance for your anticipated cooperation.

Sincerely yours

Abebe Yohannes
Associate General Secretary
Planning and Research

cc: Ato Megerssa Yadeta

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"For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men." Tit. 2:11 (KJV)

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ADDIS ABABA
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251-1-550877

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Ato Megerssa Yadeta is undertaking research in Education Accountability in Ethiopia. Ato Megerssa needs to collect information, consult education policy document and discuss with responsible people in the education sector.

We would like to ask all concerned to kindly provide him with all information relevant to his study upon his request.

With regards.

Belay Shiferaw (Ph.D.)
Head, Dept. of Higher Education
Academic & Research Affairs

ಇಂದಿರಾ ಗಾಂಧಿ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯ
ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಆಡಳಿತ ಪೀಠ
ಮೈಸೂರು - ೫೭೦ ೦೦೬

ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ: ಇಗಾವಿವಿ/ಶಿಆಪೀ/ಪಿಜಿಡಿಇಎಂ/೨೦೦೬-೦೭/೨೦೨೨ ದಿನಾಂಕ: ೨೬.೦೩.೨೦೦೭

ಸುತ್ತೋಲೆ

ವಿಷಯ: ಪಿಜಿಡಿಇಎಂ ಕೋರ್ಸ್ ಪ್ರವೇಶಾತಿ ಕುರಿತು.

ಇಂದಿರಾ ಗಾಂಧಿ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯವು ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಆಡಳಿತ ಪೀಠದ ಮೂಲಕ ಪಿಜಿಡಿಇಎಂ ಕೋರ್ಸ್ ಅನ್ನು ಪ್ರಾರಂಭಿಸಿದ್ದು, ಈ ಕೋರ್ಸ್ ಅನ್ನು ಪೂರ್ಣಗೊಳಿಸಲು ಕನಿಷ್ಠ ೨ ವರ್ಷಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಗರಿಷ್ಠ ೫ ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಅವಧಿಯನ್ನು ನಿಗದಿಪಡಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ಕೋರ್ಸ್‌ಗೆ ಪ್ರವೇಶಾತಿಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯಲು ಬಯಸುವ ಅಭ್ಯರ್ಥಿಗಳು ಕನಿಷ್ಠ ಶೇ. ೫೫ ಅಂಕಗಳೊಂದಿಗೆ ಪದವಿಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿರಬೇಕು. ಪ್ರವೇಶಾತಿಯನ್ನು ಬಯಸುವ ಅಭ್ಯರ್ಥಿಗಳು ಪ್ರವೇಶಾತಿ ಅರ್ಜಿಯನ್ನು ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಲು ಕೊನೆಯ ದಿನಾಂಕ ೩೧.೦೫.೨೦೦೭ ಆಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಆಸಕ್ತ ಅಭ್ಯರ್ಥಿಗಳು ಪ್ರವೇಶಾತಿ ಅರ್ಜಿಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯಲು ಮತ್ತು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಮಾಹಿತಿಗಾಗಿ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಆಡಳಿತ ಪೀಠ, ಇಂದಿರಾ ಗಾಂಧಿ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯ, ಮೈಸೂರು ಇಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಸಂಪರ್ಕಿಸಬಹುದು.

ಸಹಿ/-
ಪ್ರಾಧ್ಯಾಪಕರು ಮತ್ತು ಮುಖ್ಯಸ್ಥರು

ಪ್ರತಿಗಳು:
ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳ ಸಂಯೋಜಕರಿಗೆ
ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳ ಗ್ರಂಥಪಾಲಕರಿಗೆ
ಪ್ರಕಟಣೆ ವಿಭಾಗ
ಕಾರ್ಯಾಲಯ ಪ್ರತಿ

Indira Gandhi National Open University
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Lakk BBO/H-17/35pl/0135
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Qaj.Barnoota Godina Wallaggaa Bahaa
Nagaantaa

Qaj.Barnoota Godina Wallaggaa Bhihaa
Gimbii

Dhimma:- Gargaarsi Akka Godhamu Ibsuu.

Obbo Nagarsaa Yaadataa yeroo ammaa kana biyya Inglizii Univarsitii Birmingham buleehiinsa barnootattiin digrii doctaraatiif baratna kan jiran yoo ta'u qu'annaa kennaaf gargaaru akka adeemsiisuu danda'an dhaabbatni Makaanayyasuus xalayaa lakk 912:3E/3021/GO/96 guyyaa 06/06/96 barreefamsen nu beeksisaniiru.

Waan ta'eef kunuunti beekamee gargaarsi qu'annaa kanaaf barbaachisu akka godhamuuf kubachiisna.

Nagaa Waajin

Garagalcha
Obbo Nagarsaa Yaadataa
Bakka Jiranitti.

Ilyas Umar Hussen
Itti gaafatamaa Qajeelcha
Sogantaloe Barnootaa

June 14, 1996

Western Wollega Zonal Education Department
Ghimbi

Dear Sirs,

I, the undersigned, am conducting research in education management and administration on the topic educational accountability in Ethiopia.

For this research I need to interview key educationists and also to consult educational policy documents.

Copies of supporting letters from the MoE and Oromia Educational Bureau are attached for your easy reference.

I would like to kindly request you to write supporting letter to all the senior secondary schools under your department for their cooperation in providing relevant information to make the research successful.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Respectfully Yours

Megerssa Yadeta

Biiroo Barnoota Oromiyaatti
Qajeelaha Barnoota Walaggaa
Dhihaa

Lakk. 2037/17/35
Guyyaa 21-6-96

Mana barumsaa sad. 2ffaa ol'aanaa Ayiraa f.
Gullisoo.

Dhimmi isaa:- Obbo Nagarsaa Yaadaataaf deggersa barbaachisa ta'e akka geetaniif isin gaafachuu ta'a.

Akkuma armaan olitti caqasame Obbo Nagarsaa Yaadataa mana barumsaa sad. 2ffaa ol'aanaa Godina keenya keessatti argaman keessaatti hojii baruu fi barsiisuu ilaalchisee qo'annaa geggeessuu akka barbaadan ibsanii deggersa barbaachisa ta'e akka geenuuf xalayaa guyyaa 14/6/96 barreefameen nu gaafatanii jiru.

Kanaafuu akka gaaffii isaanitti waan barbaachisa ta'e hunda akka raawwateniif isin beeksifna.

Nagaa wajjin

Biiroo Barnoota Oromiyaatti Qajeelcha Barnoota Walgaa Dhihaa

Teaddesaa Habtamuu Argaw
Itti Gaafatamaa Qajeelaha Barnoota

Koppii
- Obbo Nagarsaa Yaadaataa f
- Kutaa sad. 2ffaa teekniikaa fi og.

Gimbii

Y/G

Appendix II: Interview Schedule

Interview schedule questions

Part I

(Questions to establish implicit concept of accountability)

What are your views on the following questions ?

1. Should parents have a say in what their children learn at school? Could you please elaborate on your response?

2. Should teachers be ready to listen to parents' opinions? Could you please explain your response?

3. Should what teachers do from day to day reflect the policy of the head (school director)? Why?

4. Should a teacher's practice follow the directions laid down by the government? Why?

5. Should the teacher have a great deal of freedom in the choice of teaching methods? Why?

6. At the end of the day, should teachers be responsible only to their own conscience? Please elaborate your response.

7. Should the teacher be responsible for the welfare of the children he/she teaches? Why?

8. Should a child's progress in school ultimately be the responsibility of the teacher? Why?

9. Should teachers discuss with each other about instructional improvement? Could you please elaborate your response?

10. Should teachers seek opinions from community leaders? Why?

(At appropriate points, questions will be raised to clarify or elaborate responses)

Interview schedule questions

Part II

(Questions to establish the subject's grasp of the word accountability and its concept for administrators; heads and; teachers)

A) 1. What does the term accountability mean to you? Or What do you understand by the word accountability?

B) What do you think teachers should be accountable for? Could you please elaborate your views on this matter?

C) 1. Should teachers be accountable to parents? How? In what way?

2. Should teachers be accountable to students? Why? How?

3. Should teachers be accountable to other teachers? How?

4. Should teachers be accountable to their own conscience? How? To what extent?

5. Should teachers be accountable to heads?

6. Should teachers be accountable to government inspectors?

7. Should teachers be accountable to the community? How?

8. Who else should teachers be accountable to?

(At appropriate stages, questions will be raised to clarify responses)

D) 1. Do you know of any educational accountability policy or policies put in place by the MoE in the last ten years? Could you mention them? OR 2. What educational accountability policies have been formulated by MoE since 1991?

Interview schedule questions

Part III

(administrators only)

Kogan (1986:24) gives the following three models of accountability and to what extent do you think these models are reflected in the Ethiopian education system?

1. *Public or state control mode*l: This model entails the use of authority by elected representatives, appointed officials, and the heads and others who manage schools.

2. *Professional control model*: The essence of this model is that the control of education is by teachers and professional administrators. With this is associated self- reporting evaluation.

3. *Consumerist control model*: This model might take the form of

   (a) participatory democracy or partnership in the public sector; or

   (b) market mechanisms in the private or partly private public sector.

Interview schedule questions

Part IV

Personal data on all the three sets of respondents

1. Organization?

2. Position in the organization?

3. Length of service in the present position?

4. Highest educational level achieved?

5. Sex?

6. Age?

7. Place of interview?

8. Date of interview?

9. Duration of interview?

10. Mode of interview?

Appendix III: Sample Interview Transcripts:

In the following transcriptions 'I' stands for interviewer and 'R' stands for respondent. 'Adm', 'gsp' and 'gst' stand for administrator, government secondary school principal, and government secondary school teacher, respectively.

Sample Transcript

Interview with adm1
Place of interview was respondent's office
Date of interview: June 7th, 1996
Duration of interview was just over one hour,
Mode of interview was face to face, recorded,

(I) Should parents have a say in what their children learn at school? And could you elaborate your response on this?

(R)This is very obvious that parents should have a say in the education of their children. In a sense, well, first of all from the discipline point of view. Second from the academic point of view. But the problem in our country is academically since most of the parents are not educated...they find it difficult to assess the academic situation of the child. All the same, they could have a say in all condition of the child in the school in general, in his attendance, discipline, in his interest in the subject matter etc.. Except for the competence of the parents, they could have a say in general in the running of the school and in their child's condition in the school.

(I) Should teachers be ready to listen to parents' opinion?

(R) Obviously. No doubt about it, except that with the limitation I said before, most of the parents are not educated. There may be some negative, the teachers may not be so positive. Still from the policy side, we believe that teachers should be answerable and respond to the needs and the opinion of parents towards their children.

(I) Should what teachers do from day to day reflect the policy of the head/director?

(R) Well, first of all as far as policy is concerned in this country policy is central policy where the director has to elaborate in the school. And as far as teachers are concerned, obviously particularly in the state schools they are expected to respond to the policy and work according to the policy of the head of the institution who reflects the policy of the government in general.

(I) Should teachers' practice follow the directions laid down by the government? and why?

(R) Obviously, in our previous...it was central, it was a central government and the teachers and all the education system had to follow the central government policy, but now it is not only from the central. The policy has to work from the regional and the locality too. Teachers and school systems in general should work in response to the policy of the various hierarchies.

(I) Should a teacher have a great deal of freedom in the choice of teaching methods?

(R) The problem is our teachers, most of our teachers are not highly trained. They should have the choice but since they are not highly trained, we have documents, teachers' methodological documents to help teachers . Particularly in every subject there is a subject guide which helps the teacher in his methodological approach and the teacher is expected to use these guide books or follow these guide books for his methodological approach. But this does not mean that he (the teacher) should not take his own initiative as long he is competent enough...

(I) At the end of the day, should teachers be responsible only to their own conscience?

(I) Of course, teachers should be responsible to their own conscience but at the same time, in state schools, particularly the curriculum is state curriculum, text books are prepared by state organs. As I said before the teachers' guides which require few guidance in methodology is prepared by the same people who prepare the text books. Therefore, the teachers are expected to follow these guidelines. ...So conscience, when it comes to conscience, what does conscience mean, you know? It depends.

(I) Should a teacher responsible for the welfare of the children he/she teaches? and why?

(R) Of course, for various reasons. The teachers in this country are not only responsible for academic matters of children. They should look into their welfare in general, particularly their health situation, their psychological situation, even their social problems. For this country is a poor country and many children come from very poor parents, uneducated parents. So their opportunity is mostly from the school that they get various kinds of assistance. It is not only academic, various, you know, bringing up of children in general of that age. Therefore teachers have great responsibility in all these...

(I) Should the child's progress in the school be ultimately be the responsibility of the teacher?

(R) Of course, not only the individual teacher, but the whole school community, the whole school structure. And as a member of the whole school structure, the teacher is expected and has the responsibility to play his role in this respect.

(I) Should teachers discuss with each other about instructional improvement?

(R) Yes, in fact there is a mechanism for them, which is created for them for this, that is in every school, particularly in schools with grades five and above teachers are organized on department basis and departments prepare team approach to the subjects being taught and they get together frequently in a planned manner to discuss the teaching and learning process that is being planned by every teacher and they exchange ideas and enrich each others ideas and in fact hold what is called collective evaluation on department level that the teachers evaluate each other. And this evaluation is taken into consideration for evaluating the teacher at the school level and for his promotion, whatsoever. Therefore, this is required by the school, by the school system and there is a mechanism created for it. It is not only at the department level even at all school level they have to get together. First we have got what we call curriculum committee in every school. So in this curriculum committee they have to discuss how to implement the curriculum and give feedback on curriculum and various aspects of the teaching and learning process in the school.

(I) Should teachers seek opinion from community leaders? and why?

(R) Yes, they are expected to seek from elders in the community... First of all the culture of the community has to be reflected in the school and the school has to utilize the

cultural and social resources of the community to educate the children. The school should not be an island in the community. It has to reflect the interest of the community. For this there must be a continuos dialogue among the community elders and other people who are considered useful in giving various ideas and support to the school.

(I) What does the term accountability mean to you? what do you understand by the term accountability?

(R) I understand by term accountability to be answerable to . For instance if we are going to be accountable to the parents we have to be answerable to parents for what we are doing; if we are accountable to the state we are answerable to the state for what we are doing in our daily work, in our dealings with a child in various forms. Thus is how I understand accountability. Accountability might have various forms. That is academic accountability; professional accountability; administrative accountability- whatever- answerable to certain body or individual for that aspect or category of responsibility.

(I) What do you think teachers should be accountable for?

(R) Well, teachers should be accountable to the parents, as I said for the welfare of the child first. They should be accountable to the state for curriculum implementation because the curriculum is state curriculum. They should be accountable to the school community through, say, the parents' committee for their activity in relation to the school. They should be accountable to the school management in their administrative activities in the school. So this what they should be accountable to. They should be accountable to their professional associations in relation to their professional code of ethics. Professional accountability in relation to professional code of ethics does not limit itself to the teachers association but should extend to the school community, to the school head and to the school management system too.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to parents? How and in what way can they be accountable

(R) Well, as I said before they should be accountable to parents in relation to the welfare of the child, and the handling of the child in the school system and in the class and in helping to develop the program of the child in his educational activities. They should be accountable to the parents.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to students? why and how?

(R) In fact they should be and there is a mechanism now. The new evaluation system in this country, the new evaluation system of teachers requires that the opinion of the students should be taken into consideration for the teachers for any promotion. The evaluation system particularly in the secondary schools the students are expected to give their views on their teachers in relation to the evaluation of their teachers as parents do and as other teachers do.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to their own conscience? How and to what extent?

(R) Well, everybody should be accountable to his own conscience but how and what is very difficult to know. It is from the way the teacher expresses himself in various forms that perhaps can be identified particularly in professional code of ethics. In teaching the truth to the students, you know, not being partisan in various aspects in the class. He is required to be accountable to his conscience in this respect. (I) Now, teaching the truth...? (R) Well, teaching the truth, academic truth is there particularly in the various subjects like social subjects, not be partisan in religious issues because to our school system people of various religions come, the teacher has his own religion. He is expected not to reflect his particular view on such issues. We have got students from various

religious groups, various beliefs. In a country were there are various political views, the teacher should watch out and not be partisan and first of all keep in their mind the welfare of the child.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to heads?

(R) Heads of the department you mean?

(I) No heads of the school.

(R) Obviously yes, particularly in executing the policy, the educational policy of the country.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to government inspectors?

(R) As a matter of fact we do not have government inspectors, we have got educational supervisors. The educational supervisors are very few that they do not deal directly with the teachers, they deal with school administration- So whatever supervisory activity is done, it is by the head of the department and if it goes to the highest it is the school principal that supervises. There is no external inspection or supervision which deals directly with the teacher. External supervisors are expected to deal with the school in general not with the particular teachers.

(I) you mean they deal with school administration?

(R)If it come to the individual teachers it is in assistance to the school principal that they come to visit the individual teachers. Their relation is only professional in this respect. Getting professional assistance from the supervisors.

(I) So the supervisors are to provide professional assistance not to inspect.

(R) Not to inspect, no.

(I) Not to call teachers to account.

(R) no.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to the community? and how do you think they should be?

(R) Yes, there is a mechanism now. Every school has got its community/parents' committee. So...this committee does not deal with specific matters. Overall or in general, when reported to it or asked by the principal to help, through this mechanism they have to be accountable to the parents committee or school committee, but this is indirect, not direct.

(I) Who else should teachers be accountable to, do you think?

(R) To their conscience; to the parents; to the community, and to the government, of course. I do not think there is any other body they should be accountable to...Theoretically the parents come first, in practice it is the state now that comes first...

(R) Well, this is specifically stated in the various guidebooks, administrative guidebooks of the ministry of education, during the previous governments too. At this stage there are specific documents, guides on these issues and it is through this how schools are managed, who is accountable to what , not only accountability but various aspects of pedagogical issues, administrative issues and other issues, evaluation of teachers so on an

so forth. There is a guidebook in this respect and it is related, this is a mechanism of how we are going to do it. First of all the schools are organized in department forms, as I said. Then above them they have got the school management and the school committee from parents. The relation of who should do this and that is specifically stated in them. Above that there is the woreda (subdistrict) council. When I say state, state this is particularly directed to the woreda council. The mechanism is through the woreda council that the state policy is implemented and all other aspects. There are handbooks in this respect. These handbooks are not scientifically prepared. They are at their first stage. They are overall guidebooks, guidelines because we are coming out of the transitional government to a new federal government it is only one year and it takes time to get to specific, scientific analysis and this is overall guidance book...

(I) Which of Kogan's three accountability models is predominant in Ethiopia? (explanation of models given on one page of paper)

(R) Of these models, of course, there is a mix of all the three but predominantly it is the public or state control model that we follow. As I stated before simply because of the nature, the situation and the historical background of this country it is the public or state control model that is predominant. There are a mix from the other too but it is the public or state control model that is predominant.

Remarks by (adm1)
But I just wanted to say a few words on the things I repeatedly said state, state- As you know in various other African Countries education has been introduced by missionaries, in most cases. In the Ethiopian situation predominantly it had always been a state affair. The state in this country had been a centralized state, with centralized policies. Now through the process we want to come to bring the parents to the foreground. We want the locality to come to the foreground but still this historical evolution of the system of education in this country makes it a state affair in various things. This is one thing. The other thing is the issue of professionalism. We wish that there ought to be professional input in this country in our education system or the professional issue should come to the forefront. But the issue that our teachers are not so highly trained to take the professional responsibility on their own. So at this stage of our history whether our wish is for professionalism or parents to come to the forefront, but the historical luck is that it has become a state affair. So, when we talk of accountability it always comes to be accountable to the state. I just want to repeat that the state accountability is the most predominant one in the Ethiopian situation.

(I) Ethiopia is going from centralized system to decentralized system-and this definitely requires redrawing of the line of accountability relationships-is there a corresponding accountability policy change?

(R) The accountability at this stage now is to the regional states. All the same, previously it was to the central state. Now it is to the regional states. All the same, it is to the state (whether central or regional). As you know that every region now uses its language for instructional purposes. Primary curriculum up to grade eight should be prepared by the regional departments. The central governments or federal government's role or the professional from the federal government is to give only professional imputes or advice and so on but the authority is given to the regional state. So from the central state it has come to the regional state. But theoretically we wish the community itself should involve itself. And accountability to the community can come only at the school level and at the woreda level. Region is also very far, a very far affair, you know. Regions are not small regions. There are regions with the population of twenty millions, very huge. One of our states is as large as France. If you take the other states, the second largest state is as large as one of the middle level European countries. The states themselves are big, having their own languages, having their own... From the federal it has come to the regional states, which again are very large states. But our wishes and expectations to come down to the

community, meaning to the school and so on, and that we have not yet achieved. That is the hope-quite right that is the hope. In fact there is a danger of-by taking from the federal to the regional-the danger of being complacent. All the same, as I said before, it is centralized at the regional level. It has gone from the federal level but still centralized at the regional level and that does not make it responsive to the local communities.

(I) Competency of parents and its impact on materializing decentralization.

(R) Yes, it will have an impact. A negative impact as that. As I said, sense the decentralization is a political process with a nationalistic kind of view, now the regional states are really taking it into their hands instead of giving it back to the community. When we were talking of decentralization and democratization our wish was that affairs have to be taken over by the public, by the community at the local level. But now it is being taken by the regional states and it is centralized at the regional states. And there is a danger that one has to watch out to see that the things really happen, meaning, going down to the public, going down to the parents, and going down to the community. But that is not the case, it has been centralized at the regional level. As I said before, the region, the regional states are not small ones. That is one thing, the other important thing is that there is no professional capacity at the woreda level to help the parents to play their role effectively. So all the professional capacity is now being built at the centre at the regional state and at the central levels. In fact some regional states are at disadvantage now than before because those communities which were near Addis-which is the federal centre-are now- when they go to the regional states the centres of the regional states are several times further from them than the federal centre. In fact Addis Ababa was nearer to them. So you know, the parents , the woreda people and communities have centres which are very, very far away, which are new to them which they may not been aware of. There is danger that one has to watch out [for]. (I) Thank you very much.

Sample Transcript

Interview with (gsp2)
Place of interview-respondent's office,
Date of interview-July 16th 1996,
Duration of interview-54 minutes,
Mode of interview-face to face, recorded.

(I) Should parents have a say in what their children learn at school? Could you please elaborate your response?

(R) I think they must have. That is what we are introducing at the present time. Yes, that is in curriculum building and curriculum construction- I support it in my view. (I) Why do you think they must have? The reason why I say that the parents should have a say is that students stay at school for about fours hours and in some other schools its could be more than that. But in government schools it is four hours. The rest of the time they spend with their parents. These students need support of their parents. The parents should know basically what the students do at school as well.

(I) Should teachers be ready to listen to parents, opinion?

(R) Yes, again to ... improve the standard of education, parents, teachers , the subject of education-students-must be able to listen to each other. Otherwise, it is a one way education system. This could create a problem and we could not remove or erase the problem that already exists at the present time. But democratically, must be seen democratically. If you say that parents should have a say, then teachers must democratically be able to listen to the opinion of the parents of the children.

(I) Should what teachers do from day to day reflect the policy of the head (the principal)?

(R) I do not see it to be necessary actually. Because in all disciplines the teachers could have their own ways of transmitting or conveying their knowledge to the children. They should not , if I got the point correctly, ...They should follow the principles, the directives...the general directives. The general ones that are generally accepted as well.

(I) Should a teacher's practice follow the directions laid down by the government?

(R) In my opinion not strictly. General guidelines, should not go out of the guidelines, curriculum set by the government. But the way it is presented differ from individual to individual. In my opinion teaching is classified, in my opinion, as an art. Some put it in a very beautiful and attractive way to students. Some are more practical. They should follow the general outline, curricular guide. They should not be...it does not mean there should be anarchism. In the final one when they are in contacts with their students they must be free. They should put it in their own way. They should be free in choosing the teaching methods.

(I) Should teachers be responsible only to their own conscience?

(R) Yes, I think so..., that is, in my opinion again, how can I put it, very important part we can say in all things that we do-not only in education-in all other relations that we have-social, human relations must be governed by our conscience, of the teachers, of the worker of the students. So, especially in the teaching profession, we can not follow each and every teacher each minute what he is doing so on. To do that it might cost us a lot. In

fact, we can not do it at all...the knowledge that he conveys to the student we can not control, unless it is governed by the conscience of each individual teacher. We can do very little by writing him a letter-you can do this-you can do that-to make very successful. To make the teaching profession successful, all in all, most of the time it should be left to the teacher, especially the teaching profession, other jobs might need that.

(I) Should the teacher be responsible for the welfare of the children he/she teaches?

(R) What do you mean by welfare?... provided all the conditions are fulfilled or satisfied for the teacher-the economic status, the materials that he uses while he carries out his profession-his teaching, if his students are few in number, not as we have nowadays, not when he is teaching one hundred students....,he teaches about eighty in our school, it goes up to one hundred. All these physical conditions, psychological conditions, that his moral is high, that his profession is accepted by the society. Then, you can make him accountable for the welfare of the child in the school and out side the school....the society will give him credit according to what type of a child he has brought up....They should be, provided all these conditions are satisfied...even for the academic performance of a child the teacher must be accountable for the welfare provided all these conditions are satisfied for him [the teacher].

(I) Should a child's progress in school ultimately be the responsibility of the teacher?

(R) Yes, I think I have answered it...even for the academic performance of the student.

(I) Should teachers discuss with each other about instructional improvements?

(R) They should do that at the departmental level, school level, even at grade level. For example ninth mathematics teacher, say, discuss about the topics they teach in grade 9. They prepare the examinations, tests, sometimes they give common tests....they prepare that. So, I think it is necessary... is great help to develop the curriculum, to criticize, and to give feedback on the syllabus...methods of teaching, discipline of students are also being discussed at grade level even, at departmental level, even from grades 9-12, both at grade level and departmental level.

(I) Should teachers seek opinions from community leaders?

(R) On what? On this sphere..., ya, I think they should in my opinion-it would be yes. Because again... be of support to the general teaching-learning process carried out in that community, society- through the leaders we can get the parents or through the parents we can get the leaders-discuss in general what is going on in the school-society. The children that stay in school also stay in the society.

(I) What does the term accountability mean to you? or What do you understand by the word accountability?

(R) Accountability- when say, an official or a person in charge is given post, authority and all the necessary material and financial activities he is given...then he must be asked if he commits some mistakes while carrying out or while discharging the responsibility. ..., provided he is given all the powers and he is paid-if he does mistakes deliberately-some time it might happen by mistake-if he has done it intentionally. The Ministry or any organization that has given him ..., must ask him...

(I) What are teachers accountable for in school?

(R) When they do not discharge responsibilities put on them by government by the society. Generally...they are given the responsibility of teaching certain periods, certain

times of the day, they should go to class, preparing lesson plans...If they do not do this, they will be accountable, asked by their immediate officials...charged or penalized or...

(I) Should teachers be accountable to parents?

(R) They should be accountable to the organization, to the institution that has hired them...public schools or schools of the parents, they are run by the school committee. But in government schools we have also what you call school committee which is made up of members of the school- teachers' association, students, administration and community,...some members are from the kebele councils (different woreda social affairs) directly elected from the parents... Indirectly the teachers are accountable to the parents through the director who is secretary to the school committee.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to students?

(R) Not directly, again through a committee and students are members of this committee- student representative one directly selected by the students... One student is selected to represent them.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to other teachers?

(R) To the Department Head ...I To the particular department. (I) Not to a colleague on the same level? (R) No. If they have relations in some cases, I do not know. There are general science course , for example, biology teacher may have relations with chemistry teacher and physics teacher and so on...The teacher must be accountable or responsible the immediate Department Head...

(I) Should teachers be accountable to their own conscience?

(R) ...It must be in greater extent.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to heads/principals?

(R) Yes, I think so. They are the ones who are responsible to run the school...First to their department heads, for minor things...

(I) Should teachers be accountable to government inspectors?

(R) The role of inspectors/supervisors is limited in schools.

(I) Do inspectors/supervisors come and directly supervise teachers?

(R)...What we have is management inspection or supervision. They inspect through the director...They do not go to each class.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to the community?

(R) No, I don't think directly, I am not sure.

(I) Who else should teachers be accountable to?

(R) We have exhausted the list. No horizontal, it must be hierarchical.

(I) Do you know of any educational accountability policy or policies or procedures put in place by the MoE in the last ten years or recent years?...

(R) In black and white on paper- there were directives that we call volume one and volume two, specially in volume two we have the role that the teacher the administrator and deputy administrator...and so on. There they mention what a teacher must do; mention of what a director must do in successfully carrying out teaching profession, education profession, but in action, I do not know. I did not see. Even in the directives they have again included the disciplinary measures that teachers who are accountable for certain...certain mistakes penalized or punished accordingly...

(I) May be, I would like to call your attention to a certain evaluation practice done recently. I think, I was told in the MoE that there is some evaluation taking place now in schools in Ethiopia. Has that evaluation take place in your school?

(R) Yes, we have not finished it. Evaluation, it is for teachers only. Teachers include unit leaders, deputy directors, ...counsellors, pedagogical centre head are considered teachers. All the others are considered support staff...administrative staff members. Evaluation includes all these and it is done in three, in pieces, three separate ones.(I) Could you explain? (R) yes. Evaluation that carries sixty percent of the total is the one that is carried out by the school administration which includes department heads, supervisors and heads. Twenty five percent is the evaluation given by the students. And fifteen percent, even though we have not made this practical and we are waiting for directives from the Zonal office and Education Bureau and MoE, so far no action has been taken, by parents.

(I) Let me ask you a question. How do you choose students to conduct this evaluation? For the sixty percent the principal is there, the supervisors are there and the department heads are there...it is clear in black and white How do you choose the students?

(R) The first one has not that much change from what we have been doing previously except for the criteria that are set more...more practical...most of the things do not involve subjective criteria that can put you in a dilemma, that can make you fight against your conscience...it must include concrete and objective the marks or the points that we give must be reasonable and must be able to measure what really the teacher did. Based on that we have finished. What we are left with is very few, the department heads are still to be evaluated by the director and deputy directors. The deputy directors will be evaluated by the director. This will take care of the sixty percent. The twenty five percent is new and it is a new phenomenon, I can say, for the education system in Ethiopia. So far during Haile Sellasie or Derge regime students were not given the opportunity or chance to evaluate their teachers. Now have around seven general criteria for the students to evaluate their teachers. According to the directives there is no need to select students to evaluate, actually. The directive says that each teacher must be evaluated by the students in each different sections that he enters. For co-ordinating we just chose students. Any of the teaching staff, including the principal, were not allowed to do the co-ordination of the evaluation done by the students. We selected five students from each section to co-ordinate. We gave them orientation to technically conduct the evaluation process. For example to read the criteria to the general body of the classroom and then ask their general opinion, what they feel about the teacher. Just say the Amharic teacher about criteria number 1. Read the criteria loudly. Some of the selected five students will serve as recorders, if there is no consensus, the students will vote. The voting is counted by the other members of the five that were selected to co-ordinate. For example, if a teacher enters five sections he will be evaluated by those five sections...needed of staff members including my self have to be evaluated by students. We chose three criteria, left out the others that apply to classroom teaching, out of seven we prepared for evaluating the members that do not teach. Now we have finished the evaluation. For consolidation, out of each grade level for each shift we chose five students, which have elected a chairman and a secretary, then teacher who enters ten classrooms result have to be averaged and submitted. This is completed. The criteria for choosing the students have been set by a certain technical committee... We have selected three...parent committee... As to the third part we have not taken action. We are still waiting for some directives from the MoE, Regional Education Bureau or from the Zonal Education Office. We are ready or prepared for...and so on. We have elected parents' representatives, three of them. But how to put into action that is the problem. The selected parents' frankly said how can we evaluate the teachers that we do not know? representatives most of the teachers who teach here do not reside here. They live in gerji. Meganagna, Shola etc...[different parts of Addis Ababa].

(I) What kind of directives are you waiting for from the hierarchy?

(R) I do not know. May be, in my case some of the supervisors came to evaluate what we have so far reached.

(I) The sixty percent and twenty five percent?...

(R)They suggested that for this year it would be impractical...to wait for the fifteen percent. We have so far worked out eighty five percent...convert to 100% and converted out of eighty to add the service percentage 20%...

(I) In general now you are saying there a evaluation, there is a procedure for evaluation which makes teachers accountable to the management, to the students to the community but to make it practical is becoming difficult.

(R) Yes. Starting next academic year...we have already set committee, we can introduce that to the teachers, we can make programs they can even know...

(I) In general now do I read you correctly to make the evaluation is a cumbersome job, a difficult job it is not an easy job? It is not an easy job. Is that a correct reading?

(R) Yes, it is not an easy job.

(I) Thank you very much...If I have more questions, I will come back to you at a later date.

Sample Transcript

Interview with (gst6)
Place of interview- in an empty classroom
Date of interview-19th July, 1996
Duration of interview-25 minutes
Mode of interview-face to face recorded

(I) Should parents have a say in what their children learn at school?

(R) Oh yes, parents should have a say on the teaching and learning process of their children and, in principle although it is correct for parents to have a say nowadays in our country you might have heard that the structural set up is going on to increase salaries for teachers. And in this case the ministry of_education has given a certain percentage of say to parents to evaluate teachers. In this regard we teachers at this time do not accept the involvement of parents in evaluating and grading teachers. You know, of course parents should have a say on the learning-teaching process but in this case the say on the part of parents should be limited to opinion giving and to the development of the curriculum not to specifically grading teachers. In as far as evaluating and grading teachers is concerned, I think, the responsible personnel, meaning the authorities at different levels of the ministry of education should directly have a say in upgrading teachers. This is our difference with the ministry of education nowadays. But In general I believe that opinions for the development of our education should be given by parents and their opinion, I think is indispensable.

(I) Should teachers be ready to parents' opinion?

(R) I do not understand your question.

(I) Should parents be ready to listen to parents' opinion?

(R) I think so. I am giving you this opinion as a teacher. Therefore, I myself is ready to listen to opinion of parents and there are colleagues who share the same idea with me.

(I) Why should teachers be ready to listen to parent's opinion?

(R) Well, teachers must really be aware of the difference of grading them and giving opinion on the general trend of the development of the education of our country. If teachers are aware that the parents' opinion are only limited to the development of the curriculum and the educational system and if it is_not going to affect their career, they will be open minded to accept parents opinion and suggestions, and the like, if I have got your question.

(I) Should what teachers do from day to day reflect the policy of the head/principal?

(R) I beg your pardon.

(I) Question repeated.

(R) I do not understand, your question is not clear.

(I) Question repeated again.

(R) Oh, you mean that should teachers implement the policy that has been prepare by the authority? Head? Which head? You mean the director? School head? Should teachers accept the order of the school head you mean?

(I)Should their daily practice follow the policy of the head?

(R) Well, to a certain, to a certain extent, and in fact mostly they had , they have to follow the directions given by the headmaster of the school. But at times, you know when we teachers go to classes although we teach according to the curriculum the initiative of every teacher, the creativity of every teacher differs from one to the other, and therefore, we have our own says in classrooms. Basically, we have to follow the orders and directives of authorities at different levels.

(I) Now, but you are talking about freedom of choice of teaching method for teachers when you are talking about classrooms.

(R) Although man is born free that does not mean that he has to conform to certain laws and regulations. Especially, education, education should follow certain laws and regulations. Otherwise, if we are going to follow a laissez-faire Policy it would really be very difficult to have a correct line of educational development. Therefore, in most cases the principles, directives and orders of the authorities must be followed. Must be followed. But as I said before, when teachers go to classrooms, and when they teach they can develop the lessons that they give in their own way of approach. For instance some teachers always conform to the political set-up and to all the political says of a given government. But if in principle, if in their mind they do not support that government, in some sort of manner they must be able to reflect their genuine opinion to their students. This is what I believe.

(I) Should teachers be responsible only to their own conscience?

(R) Well, basically, basically a human being, a human being... be it not only in teaching but in any profession he has to be governed by his own conscience. But the responsibility of every professional should not rely only on his own conscience but also should respect given principles, directives and regulations of the country, of his respective country.

(I) Should teachers be responsible for the welfare of the children they teach?
(R) Certainly.

(I) Would you elaborate?

(R) Well., the main purpose of teaching is to keep and maintain the interests and well being of our students. Therefore, the welfare of our students is the first and foremost thing.

(I) Should a child's progress in the school ultimately be the responsibility of the teacher?

(R) Would you please repeat it?

(I) Question repeated.

(R) Well, the development of a child not only depends upon what he is given in schools but also upon the community at large, including his own parents. Therefore, for the making of the personality of the given student the only responsible section of the population are not teachers. Parents have their own roles, the community at large has its own roles, therefore it is not only the responsibility of teachers for the making of the personality of the student.

(I) Should teachers discuss with each other about instructional improvements?

(R) Oh, yes, yes. It is very important. Unless and otherwise we share experiences, unless and otherwise we discuss with each other concerning our respective subjects, to my opinion, we will not be able to develop the lesson and meet the demands of our students. For good teachers, it is very relevant

to share ideas with colleagues. You know, we can teach and learn from each other. Therefore, it is very important.

(I) Should teachers seek opinions from the community leaders?

(R) Yes, yes. As I said before, for the making up of the personality of the student the teachers are not the only people, parents and community members are also responsible. Therefore teachers should get the ideas of the community and the community leaders, so that, be it in formal or informal way, they can communicate these ideas to their students.

(I) What does the term 'accountability' mean to you? What do you understand by the word accountability?

(R) Well, I think the word accountability refers to what a person's responsibility goes, meaning a person is responsible to what he does. To me accountability is the responsibility that a person should be.

(I) What do you think teachers should be accountable for?

(R) Well, in general teachers should be accountable for the personality formation of their students. But this is in general term. To be specific, also teachers should be accountable to the educational system and principles set-up of a given government at a given time.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to parents?

(R) Of course, although in our country teachers are not directly accountable to parents, indirectly, if the teachers are responsible for the formation of the personality of the student they are indirectly responsible for parents. But directly their responsibility goes to the authorities.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to students?

(R) Oh yes, yes. The immediate person that a teacher meets is his student. Therefore, unless otherwise his relationship with his student is good, education cannot be carried out. Therefore, teachers should give respects to their students. Teachers should give respect to the opinion and ideas of their students. And in this case, if they do feel that they are responsible to respect their students' opinions it means that teachers should also be responsible to students.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to other teachers?

(R) Well, I do not exactly understand this question but to my understanding there is a relationship in what we do, for instance, I as a history teacher should collaborate with my department colleagues. Therefore, on department level we have common things to do, therefore in these common thing that we do one is responsible for the others.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to their own conscience?

(R) Basically, as I said before, the most and foremost thing for a person to take is to rely on his own conscience and to be responsible to his own conscience.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to heads/directors?

(R) Naturally, naturally because as I said before if teachers should be responsible to the principles, laws and regulations of a given government at a given time, correspondingly they should also be responsible to their immediate boss.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to government inspectors?

(R) Yes, yes. The only difference is that you are asking me that teachers should be responsible to this and that personality. But, in general if teachers are accountable to the principles, laws and regulations of a given government at a given time and the authorities at different levels have also the right to look after each and every teacher, and each and every teacher should also have the responsibility to respond properly to the authorities at different levels.

(I) Now, how often have you had supervision or inspection as a teacher here, to put it in proper prospective? Have you had or do the supervisors come directly to the teachers or do they come to the management or how do they make this practical?

(R) Well, nowadays supervisors from Addis Ababa schools office or from the zonal office do not directly go to classes. I think the number of inspectors that we have is not adequate to each and every class and supervise the classes. Therefore, I usually see the supervisors only contacting the management rather than going directly to the respective teacher.

(I) You think it is due to the inadequacy in the number of supervisors?

(R) I think mainly this the reason. There may be some other reason which I can not elaborate now, but the main thing is the inadequacy in the number.

(I) Should teachers be accountable to the community?

(R) Yes, yes. You know, I told you that teachers should be responsible or accountable to parents. Parents in this case means if teachers are accountable to each house hold, they are also accountable to the community at large.

(I) Who else should teachers be accountable to or have we exhausted the list...?

(R) well, you have mentioned everything. Probably the only thing left is that teachers should also be accountable to God.

(I) Do you know any educational accountability policies or procedures put in place by the MoE in the last ten years or in years more recent than that that make teachers accountable to the various audience we have discussed above?

(R) Well, in as far as educational policy is concerned we teachers usually here like any other people in the street, we hear that educational policies have been drawn. But we do not go to the details of these policies. We do not know the details of the policy. For instance, very recently in our country we were told that a policy has been drawn but we did not go to the details of the policy. We had no chance to go to the details of the policy.

(I) What policy were you told was drawn? What kind of policy? Is that accountability policy or?

(R) Well I have heard some of major points of the policy in the massmedia, on television, radio and the like. In this case the ministry of education at this point in time is trying to improve the educational system, well every government when it comes to power in our country it has been customary that it tell us that it improves the educational system. Well, we will see the outcome in the future but anyhow the present government has also drawn a policy and this policy, I think, is meant to equip each and every student with some sort of vocational training after certain level of education, say for instance after grade ten it is decided to equip each and every student with some sort of vocational education. But to come to your question in general the policy also draws some regulations to the accountability of personnel at every level, the authorities, the teachers and the teachers as well. Therefore we feel we teachers are also accountable to what we do to day. And our career our future career also depends upon this accountability, I think.

(I) Comments you think will enrich this accountability research?

(R) No so far as accountability is concerned your questions have exhausted the accountability questions. But as far as our educational policy at large is concerned, I think the theme of your paper is not this. Had you been an authority to improve certain things, I would have suggested a lot.

(I) Like what for instance?

(R) Like for instance when I started to respond to your questions, the first and foremost thing I tried to... was that nowadays in our country the involvement of students and parents in grading teachers is really offending to us in our reality because the community and the students are not experienced and are_not prepared to grade and evaluate teachers. And like every civil servant teachers should be evaluated and graded.

(I) How are other civil servants evaluated?

(R) The other civil servants are evaluated according to what we call the laws and the regulations of the Civil Service Commission. We also used to be evaluated according to the rules and regulations of CPA (central personnel agency).This change was made very recently we are dissatisfied.

(I) You see this is the crux of my question also. It is an accountability question. It is an attempt by the MoE to make teachers accountable to the students, the community as well as to the one they are used to which is the hierarchy to the administration. Now, what are your reservations regarding students involvement, community and parents involvement in evaluating teachers?

(R) You know grading or evaluating teachers and giving opinions and enriching educational ideas are not the same. I basically belief in parents and students involvement in enriching the educational policy, the curriculum and the like. But when we come to grading, grading a certain professional requires a certain skill. What I am trying to say here is that when I say we are not happy with the involvement of students and parents in grading us, I mean that students and parents are not skilled, are not prepared and are not experienced to grade teachers. This is what makes me really unhappy.

(I) Otherwise you are not against students or parents giving comments or opinions?

(R) In principle, in so far as enriching the educational policy and curriculum is concerned, I believe that involvement of students and parents is very relevant,

(I) very relevant?

(R) very relevant.

(I) But you are just concerned about their skills, about their ability in making appropriate grading, appropriate remarks or comments?

(R) Evaluating professionals at different levels requires skills, trained personnel's are only able to evaluate people. Of course parents and students could give opinions on certain teachers and their opinions should also be considered by the authorities, I believe that. But they should not directly involve themselves in giving three or five points to certain teacher.

(I) Thank you very much.

Appendix IV: Numerical Data

Appendix IV: Numerical Data

Presentation of the responses of the respondents to the implicit and explicit questions dealing with accountability to the Various audiences (figures 4.1-4.6). The percentages were rounded off to the nearest whole number.

Figure 4.1

Accountability to parents: (Questions I.1, I.2, and II.C1 deal with this theme)

Table 1. Question I.1 "Should parents have a say in what their children learn at school? Could you please elaborate on your response?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	100% (12)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=12
Principals	89% (8)	0% (0)	11% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=9
Teachers	92% (21)	4% (1)	4.% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=23

Table 2. Question I.2 "Should teachers be ready to listen to parents opinion? Could you please explain your response?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	100% (12)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=12
Principals	89% (8)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	11% (1)	N=9
Teachers	96% (22)	4% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=23

Table 3. Question II.C1 "Should teachers be accountable to parents? How? In what way?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	84% (10)	8% (1)	0% (0)	8% (1)	0% (0)	N=12
Principals	56% (5)	11% (1)	0% (0)	33% (3)	0% (0)	N=9
Teachers	74% (17)	18% (4)	0% (0)	4% (1)	4% (1)	N=23

qy = qualified yes; amb = ambivalent; qn = qualified no; N = number of respondents for that group; numbers in bracket indicate the number of respondents who have agreed to that out of the total number in that group.

Figure 4.2

Accountability to students: (questions I.7, I.8 and II.C2 deal with this theme).

Table 1. Question I.7 "Should the teacher be responsible for the welfare of the children he/she teaches? Why?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	67% (8)	33% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=12
Principals	78% (7)	22% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=9
Teachers	100% (23)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=23

Table 2. Question I.8 "Should a child's progress in school ultimately be the responsibility of the teacher? Why?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	8% (1)	17% (2)	0% (0)	75% (9)	0% (0)	N=12
Principals	22% (2)	22% (2)	0% (0)	45% (4)	11% (1)	N=9
Teachers	17% (4)	39% (9)	0% (0)	44% (10)	0% (0)	N=23

Table 3. Question II.C2 "Should teachers be accountable to students? Why? How?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	83% (10)	0% (0)	0% (0)	16% (2)	0% (0)	N=12
Principals	77% (7)	0% (0)	0% (0)	22% (2)	0% (0)	N=9
Teachers	83% (19)	13% (3)	4% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=23

qy = qualified yes; amb = ambivalent; qn = qualified no; N = number of respondents for that group; numbers in bracket indicate the number of respondents who have agreed to that out of the total number in that group.

Figure 4.3

Accountability to superordinates: (Questions I.3, I.4, II.C5, and II.C6 deal with this theme).

Table 1. Question I.3 "Should what teachers do from day to day reflect the policy of the head (school director)? Why?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	59% (7)	0% (0)	0% (0)	33% (4)	8% (1)	N=12
Principals	45% (4)	11% (1)	11% (1)	11% (1)	22% (2)	N=9
Teachers	70% (16)	9% (2)	4% (1)	4% (1)	13% (3)	N=23

Table 2. Question I.4 " Should a teacher's practice follow the directions laid down by the government? Why?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	49% (6)	17% (2)	17% (2)	17% (2)	0% (0)	N=12
Principals	78% (7)	0% (0)	11% (1)	11% (1)	0% (0)	N=9
Teachers	92% (21)	0% (0)	0% (0)	4% (1)	4% (1)	N=23

Table 3. Question II.C5 "Should teachers be accountable to heads?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	84% (10)	8% (1)	0% (0)	8% (1)	0% (0)	N=12
Principals	100% (9)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=9
Teachers	100% (23)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=23

Table 4. Question II.C6 "Should teachers be accountable to government inspectors?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	66% (8)	0% (0)	0% (0)	17% (2)	17% (2)	N=12
Principals	56% (5)	22% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)	22% (2)	N=9
Teachers	79% (18)	4% (1)	4% (1)	0% (0)	13% (3)	N=23

qy = qualified yes; amb = ambivalent; qn = qualified no; N = number of respondents for that group; numbers in bracket indicate the number of respondents who have agreed to that out of the total number in that group.

Figure 4.4

Accountability to the community: (Questions I.10, and II.C7 deal with this theme).

Table 1. Question I.10 "Should teachers seek opinion from community leaders? Why?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	100% (12)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=12
Principals	67% (6)	11% (1)	11% (1)	0% (0)	11% (1)	N=9
Teachers	78% (18)	0% (0)	4% (1)	0% (0)	18% (4)	N=23

Table 2. Question II.C7 "Should teachers be accountable to the community? How?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	92% (11)	0% (0)	0% (0)	8% (1)	0% (0)	N=12
Principals	89% (8)	0% (0)	0% (0)	11% (1)	0% (0)	N=9
Teachers	96% (22)	4% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=23

qy = qualified yes; amb = ambivalent; qn = qualified no; N = number of respondents for that group; numbers in bracket indicate the number of respondents who have agreed to that out of the total number in that group.

Figure 4.5

Accountability to oneself or to one's own conscience (question I.5, I.6 and II.C4 deal with this theme)

table 1. Question I.5 "Should the teacher have a great deal of freedom in the choice of teaching methods? Why?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	92% (11)	8% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=12
Principals	67% (6)	22% (2)	11% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=9
Teachers	87% (20)	13% (3)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=23

Table 2. Question I.6 "At the end of the day, should teachers be responsible only to their own conscience? Please elaborate your response."

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	17% (2)	58% (7)	8% (1)	17% (2)	0% (0)	N=12
Principals	34% (3)	11% (1)	11% (1)	22% (2)	22% (2)	N=9
Teachers	26% (6)	31% (7)	4% (1)	35% (8)	4% (1)	N=23

Table 3. Question II.C4 "Should teachers be accountable to their own conscience? How? To what extent?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	58% (7)	42% (5)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=12
Principals	100% (9)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=9
Teachers	91% (21)	9% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=23

qy = qualified yes; amb = ambivalent; qn = qualified no; N = number of respondents for that group; numbers in bracket indicate the number of respondents who have agreed to that out of the total number in that group.

Figure 4.6

Accountability to other teachers: (Questions I. 9 and II.C3 deal with this theme).

Table 1. Question 1.9 "Should teachers discuss with each other about instructional improvement? please elaborate your response."

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	92% (11)	0% (0)	8% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=12
Principals	100% (9)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=9
Teachers	100% (23)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	N=23

qy = qualified yes; amb = ambivalent; qn = qualified no; N = number of respondents for that group; numbers in bracket indicate the number of respondents who have agreed to that out of the total number in that group.

Table 2. Question II.C3 "Should teachers be accountable to other teachers? How?"

	yes	qy	amb	qn	no	
Administrators	75% (9)	0% (0)	0% (0)	17% (2)	8% (1)	N=12
Principals	89% (8)	0% (0)	0% (0)	11% (1)	0% (0)	N=9
Teachers	92% (21)	0% (0)	0% (0)	4% (1)	4% (1)	N=23

qy = qualified yes; amb = ambivalent; qn = qualified no; N = number of respondents for that group; numbers in bracket indicate the number of respondents who have agreed to that out of the total number in that group.

Appendix V: Documentary sources

Appendix V: Documentary sources

Secondary school and Teacher Training Institute Teachers' Salary Scale

Serial No.	Level	Waiting Time	Starting Salary	Salary Increment 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Ceiling
1	Beginner	-	636	672	710	750	790	835	880	930	980	1035	1090
2	Junior	2	750	790	835	880	930	980	1035	1090	1150	1220	1290
3	Teacher	3	880	930	980	1035	1090	1150	1220	1290	1365	1440	1530
4	Senior	3	1035	1090	1150	1220	1290	1365	1440	1530	1620	1715	1810
5	Asc.Master	4	1220	1290	1365	1440	1530	1620	1715	1810	1905	2000	2110
6	Master	4	1440	1530	1620	1715	1810	1905	2000	2110	2220	2325	2450

(Source: Appendix 1.4 : Teacher's Career Structure Implementation Strategy Nov., 1993) (investigator's translation).

The promotion from one stage to the next on the ladder is based on the outcome of performance evaluation. Competent teachers who fulfil the requirement will be promoted to the next higher level. The evaluation of the teachers performance in schools will be carried out by three groups which are:

1) School administration and staff;

2) Students;

3) Parents/community.

Job performance comprises 80% of the evaluation while relevant experience comprises 20%.

Section 8.1.1. (Teachers' Job Performance Guidebook, June, 1995, p. 34) indicates 3.45 as a minimum point required for promotion with regards to performance evaluation and gives the following corresponding % ages.

3.5 55.00

3.50-3.60	56.00
3.65-3.75	58.00
3.80-3.90	60.00
3.95-4.05	63.00
4.10-4.20	66.00
4.25-4.35	68.00
4.40-4.50	70.00
4.55-4.65	73.00
4.70-4.80	75.00
4.85-4.95	78.00
5.00	80.00

Section 8.1.2 (Teachers' Job Performance Guidebook, June, 1995, p.34) gives points for the relevant experiences that comprise 20% of the evaluation points. Every relevant year of experience is given 1.25 points.

Classification	service	points
1. Junior teacher	2 years	2.50
2. Teacher	5 years	6.25
3. Senior Teacher	8 years	10.00
4. Associate Master Teacher	12 years	15.00
5. Master Teacher	16 years	20.00

The monthly Salaries and salary increments are determined by the position a teacher occupies on the career structure.

For junior and teacher overall minimum requirement is 65%,

For senior teacher overall minimum requirement is 75%

For Associate master teacher overall minimum requirement is 85%

For Master teacher overall minimum requirement is 90%

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